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MISCELLANEOUS
TRACTS:
In Three VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

I. The Hiſtory of the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, or *Mahometans* of the *Mooriſh* Race, out of *Spain*, in the Reign of *Philip* III.
II. The Hiſtory of the Wars of the Commons of *Caſtile*, in the Beginning of the Reign of the Emperor *Charles* V.
III. A View of the *Spaniſh Cortes*, or Parliament.
IV. An Account of the Manuſcripts and Reliques found in the Mountains of *Granada*, 1588.
V. A View of the Inquiſition of *Portugal*; with a Liſt of the Priſoners which came out of the Inquiſition of *Liſbon*, in an *Act of the Faith*, celebrated *Anno* 1682. And another in 1707.
VI. A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inquiſition in *Liſbon*, with a Perſon now living in *London*, during his Impriſonment there.
VII. A *Spaniſh* Proteſtant Martyrology.

The Second Edition corrected, with Additions.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of* Sarum.

LONDON,
Printed for *J. Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-noſter-Row*. M.DCC.XIV.

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MISCELLANEOUS

TRACTS

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE

PREFACE.

THough the General Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain was one of the greatest Revolutions of the last Age, yet partly through the Shortness of those Accounts that are given of it in the general History of that Kingdom, and partly by reason that the Books

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which have been publiſhed in Spaniſh *concerning it, are all out of Print, and hard to come by, it is ſo little known, that I cannot ſay that I have met with many among the Curious in Hiſtory, that knew much more of it, than that it happen'd at ſuch a time, and that* Spain *was thereby much depopulated and impoveriſh'd; being altogether in the dark as to the Pretences whereon it was executed, and by whom, and by what Methods it was promoted; and, in a word, as to moſt of its material Circumſtances.*

Wherefore, that ſo great and uſeful a Piece of Hiſtory may not be

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be in a manner loſt in this part of the World, after having with no ſmall Trouble procured all, or moſt of the Books that were ever Printed concerning this tragical Expulſion, *I did ſet my ſelf to write as full an Account of it as the ſaid Books would help me to; which having finiſh'd, I was the more forward to make publick, for that I believ'd it might be of great Uſe to our own, and to all other Proteſtant Governments, not to put 'em upon imitating ſo deteſtable a Practice, abhorr'd of God, contrary to Humanity, and to all good Policy; but that, deteſting its Cruelty and Barbarity, they may be warned*

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warned by it, to be always on their Guard against an indefatigable Enemy, who, tho he may Promiſe, *does never* Give *Quarter; and with whom a* Proteſtant, *a* Jew, *and a* Mahometan, *are all one and the ſame; no Cruelties being thought great enough for any of them, if they will not believe as the* Roman Church *believeth.*

And tho I cannot but be ſenſible, that this Work might have been done to much more Advantage, by ſuch as are skilful in writing Hiſtory, had they had the ſame Materials, I can nevertheleſs affirm, That as to all Matters of Fact, it could

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could not have been done by any with more Faithfulneſs. And as to the Reflections I have made on ſuch Matters, I ſhall only ſay, That had I not thought them to be Juſt, I ſhould never have Publiſh'd them; but whether they are ſo, or not, the Readers muſt judge, to whoſe Candor I commit them.

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ERRATA.

PAge 29. Line 20. for *general* read *general*; p. 39. l. 15. for *to trade, or to buy and sell*, r. *from trading, or from buying and selling*; p. 58. l. 9. dele *be*; p. 94. l. 11. for *reply'd* r. *replyed*; ib. l. 19. after *that* put a Comma; p. 122. l. 25. for *Tindil* r. *Tindil*; p. 147. l. 2. for *thefe* r. *thefe*; p. 149. l. 15. for *was* r. *were*; p. 151. l. 2. for *und* r. *the*, and after *Government* r. *and*; p. 155. l. 3. for *Archbiſhop* r. *Archbiſhop's*; p. 162. l. ult. dele *who*; p. 163. l. 2. after *Chriſtians* add *they*; ib. l. 4. for *having* r. *and have*; ib. l. 7. for *Councils* r. *Counſels*; p. 187. l. 21. after *that* add *as*; p. 188. l. 18. for *Extacy* r. *Ecſtaſy*; p. 189. l. 12. after *himſelf* add *ſo*; ibid. l. 13, 14. for *to comply therein with the Will of a Zealot*, r. *as to act at that time after the manner of a Zealot*; p. 199. l. ult. for *wrlt* r. *written*; p. 218. l. 7. for *or* r. *For*; p. 238. l. 2. for *became* r. *become*; p. 256. l. 13. d. *all*; l. 21. for *have* r. *had*; p. 281. l. 24. for *Villabaxim* r. *Villabraxim*; p. 288. l. 6. in *harrangu'd* d. *r*. p. 310. l. 10. for *law* r. *low*; p. 312. l. 19. d. *in*; p. 394. l. 7. for *as* r. *at*; p. 395. l. 16. for *pulvers* r. *pulveres*; p. 396. l. 11. put the Comma after *Theſiphon*; ib. l. ult. before *Maximinus* put *St.*; p. 401. l. 21. after *which* put a Comma; p. 417. l. 19. r. *Gregory*; p. 424. l. 15. after *twice* add *a Week*; ib. l. 30. after *It* add *is*; p. 438. l. 8. d. *but*; for p. 40 r. 440; p. 450. l. 10, & 11. r. *a natural*; p. 489. l. 4. for *bear* r. *wear*; p. 524. l. 5. cloſe the Parentheſis after *me*; p. 548. l. 23. d. *that*.

THE

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THE HISTORY OF THE EXPULSION OF THE Moriſcoes OUT OF SPAIN.

THE Taking of the City of *Granada*, by King *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, and Queen *Iſabel* of *Caſtile*, in the Year 1492. tho' it did put an end to the *Mooriſh* Government in *Spain*, where it had laſted above 700 Years; yet it did not clear the Country of the

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Moors: For the Body of the People, not only of the Kingdom of *Granada*, but of that of *Valentia* likewiſe (tho' conquer'd by the *Chriſtians*, in the Year 1236.) and of *Murcia*, (conquer'd by them in the Year 1265.) were of that Race; beſides great numbers of them ſcatter'd all over *Caſtile*, *Eſtramadura*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. And all theſe *Moors* did continue to keep themſelves a diſtinct People from the *Spaniards*, by an obſtinate Adherence, not only to the Language, Habit, and Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, but to their Religion likewiſe, which was *Mahometan*; inſomuch that few or none of them, in a long Series of Years, were converted to the Chriſtian Faith by all that the *Spaniſh* Friars could do or ſay to them. For in truth the *Mahometans*, of whatſoever Nation (being all taught from their Infancy, to value themſelves extreamly upon their Religion, as being the Reigning Religion in ſo many great Empires, and to deſpiſe all that are not of it, as little better than Dogs) are a ſtubborn ſort of Creatures for a Man to convert, and eſpecially to a Sect that adores Images, for which they have an invincible Averſion.

The *Spaniſh* Princes being ſenſible, how dangerous a thing it was, by reaſon of their near Neighbourhood to *Barbary*, to have ſo many *Moors* in their Dominions, and

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and eſpecially on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, where moſt of 'em lived, were at a loſs what to do with them. To have murdered them all in cold Blood, was a thing that would have filled the World with Horror; and to baniſh them all into *Barbary*, would be to depopulate their own Countries, and to ſtrengthen their Enemies by an acceſſion of ſo many thouſands of Families; the thing therefore that they did moſt earneſtly deſire and purſue, was to make them all Chriſtians, knowing, that if that were once done effectually, it would extinguiſh all Affection in them for the *Moors* of *Barbary*; and in caſe of an Invaſion from thence, would make them no leſs zealous than their Neighbours, to defend *Spain*. For which Reaſon, the *Spaniſh* Kings and Nobles were continually calling upon the Eccleſiaſtics, to convert their *Mooriſh* Subjects, and Vaſſals, to Chriſtianity, telling them, among other things, to quicken them to the Work; that it was a great Reproach to the Chriſtian Faith, that it ſhould not, where it had ſo many and great Advantages over *Mahometiſm*, be able to conquer it.

The Friars on the other ſide, who went only by ſtarts, and preached a few Sermons to theſe Infidels, being very angry with them, becauſe they would not be

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converted by them; did represent them as a most obstinate and obdurate sort of People, who were not to be overcome with Arguments, nor by any other than violent Methods: They did therefore all along advise their Princes either to banish the *Moors*, or to make them all Slaves, if they would not turn Christians; or at least, to take all their Children from them, and baptize them; by which means the next Generation would be all *Christians*.

But these Methods being reckoned by all (except such as thought themselves affronted by the *Moors* not having turned *Christians*, upon their Preaching) to be very hard, if not unlawful ways of converting Infidels to the Faith; the Council of *Toledo* also having expresly forbidden the forcing of Infidels to be baptized; and *Thomas Aquinas*, with other Divines, having declared it unlawful to baptize the Children of Infidels without their Parents Consent, they were not pursued at this time. And there were these farther Reasons why they should not have been used at all, *viz.* that the *Moors*, when they were regnant, and had the Power in their hands, had never forced any of their Christian Subjects to change their Religion, but had always allowed them the Publick Exercise of their Worship: Whence it must needs

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needs be extremely ſcandalous for Chriſtians to uſe violent Methods againſt them; and moreover King *Ferdinand*, when the City of *Granada* was ſurrendred to him, had engaged himſelf by an Oath, if the *Moors* had a mind to remain in *Spain*, not to give them any Diſturbance on the account of their Religion, but to let them enjoy it with the ſame Freedom as they had done under their own Princes.

For the firſt ſeven Years after the taking of *Granada*, we do not find that the *Moors* were much perſecuted by the *Spaniards*, to oblige them to change their Religion, their Converſion having been left by *Ferdinand*, according to his Oath, to the Arguments and Perſwaſions of the Archbiſhop, and other Eccleſiaſtics he had ſettled among them in great numbers, and without giving them Authority to make uſe of any Violence.

But *Ferdinand* being under no ſuch Engagement to the *Jews*, who were likewiſe very numerous in *Spain* at that time, he did within three Months after the taking of the City of *Granada*, by a Publick Edict, command all the *Jews*, if they would not be baptized, to depart with their Families within four Months, out of all his Dominions, upon pain of Death: Which moſt of them did; ſome going into *Italy*; others to *Turkey*, and *Barbary*; but the main Body of

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them went into *Portugal*; where, for a great Sum of Money, they obtained leave of King *John* the II. to continue for some Months, until they could be provided with Ships to carry them off. But notwithstanding, the Reason why they did not leave *Portugal* within the time prefix'd, was, that the King would not suffer any Ships to take them aboard; (and by Land they durst not go, the *Spaniard* having made it Death for any of them to return into his Dominions) they were all, so soon as that Term was expired, strip'd by the King of all their Goods, and sold to his Subjects for Slaves.

King *Emanuel*, who succeeded *John*, reckoning it to have been both an unjust and dishonourable thing that his Predecessor had done to the *Jews*, he set them all at liberty again; but at the same time, commanded them all, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, either to be baptized within a certain Term of Months, or to leave *Portugal*; promising, That Ships should be provided for all that would depart, at the three chief Ports of his Kingdom. The *Jews* who had all left *Spain*, where they and their Ancestors had lived for a great many Generations, because they would not turn *Christians*, did intend to have left *Portugal* for the same Reason; and did accordingly repair with their Families, to the Ports

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Ports appointed for their Embarcation; where, inſtead of Ships to carry them off, they met with a Proclamation, prohibiting them, upon pain of Death, to embark any where but at *Lisbon*: To which City, when they were all come with their Families, the King commanded all their Children, that were under fourteen Years of Age, to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force: With which unexpected Violence, ſeveral Parents were ſo enrag'd, that they threw their Children that were under that Age, into the River, and into Wells, and themſelves after them. But the time appointed for their Embarcation being expired, and no Ships being permitted to take any of them aboard, they did rather than be made Slaves again, conſent to be baptized.

The *Jews* who were at this time baptiz'd in this manner, are reckoned to have been above three hundred thouſand Men, Women, and Children: But, as few, if any of them, were in their Hearts Chriſtians, when they were thus forc'd to receive Baptiſm; ſo great numbers of their Deſcendants do to this day in *Portugal*, continue to breed up their Children in the *Jewiſh* Religion, notwithſtanding the unintermitting Cruelties which have ever ſince been exercis'd by the Inquiſition, upon all of

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them that have been convicted of having returned to that Faith.

This Dispersion of the *Spanish Jews*, is reckoned by all of that Nation and Religion, to have been, both as to Hardships, and as to their Numbers, nothing inferior to that which follow'd upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; above eight hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children, having been driven out of *Spain* at this time. But to return to the *Moors*.

In the Year 1499, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* having return'd to visit their new Conquests, did find, that in the seven Years the *Granada Moors* had been under their Government, few or none of them had been converted to Christianity; whereupon they sent to the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who, at that time, was the Famous *Ximines*, to come to them at *Granada*; who being arrived, they charged him, as he had any regard for the Honour of the Christian Religion, the Salvation of thousands of Souls, and the Security of *Spain*, to take some course or other to convert their *Mooriſh* Subjects to the Christian Faith; who as they were inform'd, were no less *Mahometans*, than they were when they liv'd under Kings of their own Religion. *Ximines*, who was a Man that would not be easily baffled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great Work

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Work with courting and careſſing the chief Men among the *Moors*; and having by rich Preſents, and greater Promiſes, perſwaded ſome of the firſt Quality among them to turn Chriſtians, their Examples were followed by a conſiderable number of the Inferior ſort. The *Moors* both in the City and Country being much alarm'd and diſpleaſed with thoſe Converſions, ſeveral of their principal Men, with whom the Archbiſhop had not been able to prevail, did go about to perſwade their Kindred and others, neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the Religion of their Forefathers. The Archbiſhop, ſo ſoon as he heard of thoſe Counterworkings, *laying all Humanity*, ſaith the Writer of his Life, *almoſt aſide*, commanded all thoſe Zealots to be apprehended; and having loaded them with Irons, he ordered them to be thrown into Dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greateſt of Malefactors. Among theſe Zealots, there was one named *Zagri*, who was of a Noble Family, and had been in a high Command in Armies; and who among his other Exploits, had in his younger days fought hand to hand with *Gonzalo* the Great Captain. The Archbiſhop reckoning, that if he were but able to ſubdue *Zagri*'s high Spirit, ſo far as to make him turn Chriſtian, none among the *Moors* would after that dare

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dare to oppose him in his Conversions, committed him to the Custody of one of his own Chaplains, named *Leoni*, a Man of a fierce and cruel Disposition; in whose keeping *Zagri* had not been many days, before he begg'd of his Keeper to be permitted to speak with the Archbishop: Which being granted, *Zagri*, when he appear'd before him, desired, That his Irons might be knock'd off, that he might deliver his Mind with the more Freedom; which having been done, he declared; *That he had been commanded the Night before in a Dream, to turn Christian*; adding, at the same time, with a Smile; *I am not such a Blockhead as to want any more Arguments to perswade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible Lion of your Lordship's*; alluding to his Keeper's Name; *to whom*, said *Zagri*, *let my Countrymen be but committed for so many days, as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity*; intimating, how barbarously he had been used by *Leoni*. The Archbishop being overjoy'd at his having thus converted *Zagri*, commanded him to be lead out, and washed; and having cloathed him in Scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the Name of *Gonzalo Ferdinando*, the Great Captain, who was at that time in *Granada*; and setling a Pen-
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ſion on him of 5000 Crowns yearly, for his Life. The other *Mooriſh* Priſoners being no more able than *Zagri*, to withſtand *Leoni*'s Arguments, did yield, and were baptized likewiſe by the Archbiſhop; who after this commanded all the *Moors* to deliver their *Alchorans*, and all their other *Arabick* Books to him: Which being done, he ordered all the Books that treated of Philoſophy and Medicine to be preſerved, burning all the reſt in the Market-place of the City, to the great Mortification of the *Moors*, who had not chang'd their Religion: And being reſolved to make his Harveſt as great as it was poſſible, he commanded the Children of all the *Moors*, who were called *Elkes*, to be taken from them, and baptized; upon pretence, that their Anceſtors were anciently Chriſtians, who had apoſtatized to the *Mahometan Sect*.

While the Archbiſhop was going on thus triumphantly with his Converſions, the *Moors*, who were enraged thereby almoſt to Madneſs, took up Arms; and having firſt barricado'd the Streets of the City, they march'd in a great Body to the Houſe where the Archbiſhop lodged; who having ſent one of his Servants to them, to know what it was they deſired; they ſent him word, That they deſired, that the Articles whereon they had ſurrendred the City to the

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the King, might be observed; and particularly, that of their having no trouble given 'em on the account of their Religion, which they would sooner die than part with. The Archbishop returned a very mild and favourable Answer to this Message, and continued to give them good Words, and large Promises of what he would do for them, until the *Count de Tondale*, Governor of the Citadel, came to his Relief; who having, with very little Bloodshed, dispersed the *Moors*, the Archbishop would not treat with them any longer, but as with Rebels, who had forfeited, not only all the Benefits of their Capitulation, but their Lives also, by the late Uproar.

The first News that the King and Queen, who were then at *Sevil*, had of this Insurrection, made it to be a great deal worse than it was. That News was, That the *Moors*, provoked by the Violences used by the Archbishop, to force them to change their Religion, had rebelled, and made themselves Masters of the whole City of *Granada*; and no Advice coming from the Archbishop, thorough the negligence of the Courier, by whom he had sent his Letters, his Conduct was severely censured by the whole Court, but especially by the King himself; who not having as yet digested the Affront the Queen had put upon him, in making

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making *Ximines* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, tho' he had begg'd it earneſtly of her for his Natural Son *Alphonſo*, of *Aragon*, Archbiſhop of *Saragoca*: He bid her with Indignation, *See what her hot-headed* Ximines *had done, having by his violent and obſtinate Folly, loſt a Place in a few Weeks, which had coſt* Spain *ſo much Sweat and Blood.* But Advice coming ſoon after, That the Inſurrection was quelled, the King diſpatch'd Judges to *Granada*, to condemn all the *Moors*, who had been any ways concerned in the Tumult, as Traytors; and having firſt condemned them, to offer them their Lives, if they would turn Chriſtians: Which Order, having been executed by the Judges, fifty thouſand *Moors*, Inhabitants of the City of *Granada*, purchaſed their Lives, by conſenting to be baptized: By which means the Archbiſhop, when he went from *Granada*, did not leave one profeſs'd *Mahometan* in that City: Tho' it was reaſonably believ'd, that he had not made one true Convert all the time that he was there.

The Biſhop of *Granada*, to whom the Inſtructing of *Ximines*'s Converts in the *Chriſtian* Faith was left, order'd the Pſalms, the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles, to be Tranſlated into *Arabick* for their Uſe, for which Method of Inſtruction that Biſhop was much blam'd by *Ximines*,

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mines, who thereupon declar'd, *That whensoever the Bible should come to be Translated into Vulgar Tongues, it would be of Pernicious Consequence to Christianity.*

The great Violences that had been used with the *Moors* of the City of *Granada*, to force them to turn *Christians*, did so alarm the *Moors* in the Country, who expected it would be their turn quickly to be treated in the same manner, that they fortify'd themselves among the Mountains, where they lived, being resolved rather to die *Mahometans*, with their Swords in their hands, than to be forc'd to be Baptiz'd, as their Country-men had been in the City: but before they were able to form their Militia, and fortify their Houses, the Great Captain and the Count *de Tindel* were upon 'em with an Army of *Veterane* Troops; and without breaking Ground, having taken *Huyar*, the most considerable Town among the Mountains, by Assault, did put all the *Moors*, Men, Women, and Children that they found in it, to the Sword; expecting that the Terror thereof would have reduc'd all the *Moors* that were in Arms to Obedience; which it was so far from doing, that the News thereof made them fortify themselves in all places, and helped them to a much greater Army than they could otherwise have raised.

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The *Moors* being now too ſtrong for the Great Captain, with the Army he had with him to deal with; the King, in Perſon, marched againſt them, and with the Troops he brought with him, being joyned with thoſe of the Great Captain, he did in a ſhort time reduce *Sanaiarra*, *Almeria*, *Bacca*, *Guadie*, and all the other *Mooriſh* Towns that were in Arms; obliging all the Inhabitants, as faſt as he reduc'd them, to purchaſe their Lives by conſenting to be baptized. And whereas there were ſtill great numbers of *Moors* in Arms among the Mountains, which were not acceſſible to an Army, the King ſet forth a Proclamation, commanding them all upon pain of Death to lay down their Arms, and to remove, with their Families, into the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, where Dwellings ſhould be provided for them. But the *Moors* being ſenſible, that if the *Spaniards* had them once out of their Faſtneſſes, they would either force them to turn *Chriſtians*, or cut all their Throats, they ſent ſome Commiſſioners to the King, to deſire, that ſince they could not be ſuffered to enjoy their Religion in *Spain*, they might be tranſported to *Barbary*, offering to pay ten Dollars a Head for every one that embarqu'd: The King, who was in great want of Money, having agreed to this, ſeveral thouſands of the

Moors

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Moors embarqued aboard a Fleet that the King had provided for them at *Eſtopona*, but a great many more were left behind for want of Money to pay for their Paſſage, who were all forced to be baptized: So that in a few Months, above two hundred thouſand Men, Women, and Children were converted by the King and the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, from the *Mahometan* to the *Chriſtian* Profeſſion: I ſay Profeſſion, becauſe it is more than probable, that there was ſcarce one in all that vaſt Number that was truly converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith; or, if any were, it muſt have been by immediate Divine Inſpiration, and not by outward Inſtruction, which few or none of them had ever had.

The Inquiſition, which had not at that time been erected into ſuch a Court as it is now above twenty Years, looking upon all theſe forc'd Baptiſms as good and valid, did exerciſe all its uſual Cruelties on ſuch of the *Moors* as were convicted of having returned to *Mahometiſm*, which few or none of them had ever left with their Hearts.

No fewer than an hundred thouſand, living and dead, preſent and abſent, were condemned for Apoſtacy by the Inquiſition of *Sevil*, in the ſpace of forty Years: of which number, four thouſand were

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were burnt, and thirty thouſand were reconcil'd, the reſt having made their Eſcape into *Barbary*, upon their Fears that they were in Danger of being taken up by that Court.

By means of this great Deſolation made by the Inquiſition, *Garibai* ſaith three, *Ileſcas* ſaith five thouſand Houſes were left void, and without Inhabitants, within the Diſtricts of the Inquiſition of *Sevil*: Of which Complaint being made by the Owners of thoſe Houſes to the King; moſt of the Counſellors of State were of Opinion, that the Inquiſition was not to be ſuffered to make ſuch terrible Havock of the People, telling the King plainly, that if a Stop were not put to the Fury of that Court, it would in a ſhort time turn *Spain* into a perfect Deſert. But the King not ſeeming to be at all moved by theſe Remonſtrances, a great Sum of Money (of which he ſtood in great need at that time) was offered, if he would conſent to the putting down of the Inquiſition, which, contrary to the Rules of all good Policy, had been erected by him in *Spain*; to which Propoſition the King ſeeming to lend an Ear, *Thomas de Turrecremata* (a *Dominican* Fryar, who, for having modell'd the Court of Inquiſition as it was then, and has been ever ſince in *Spain*, was made the firſt Inquiſitor General)

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when he heard thereof, posted away to Court, and having, so soon as he arrived, obtained an Audience of the King and Queen, he pulled a Crucifix from under his Habit before he spoke a Word, and holding it forth to 'em, said, *I am not a Stranger to the Bargain that is going on here. Our Blessed Saviour Christ Jesus was Sold by the wretched* Judas *for Thirty Pieces of Silver: If you reckon that* Judas *did well in Selling him to his Enemies, you may follow his Example, and Sell him for a great deal more; but that I may not seem to have any hand in such an abominable Bargain, I do here lay down my Authority, and do you answer to God for what will be the Consequence of it:* With which free and passionate Expostulation the King and Queen were so deeply touch'd, that none durst, after that, ever speak to either of 'em one Word against the Inquisition, or concerning the Desolations that were made by it, in all the Kingdoms of *Spain*.

The News of the great Cruelties exercised on the *Moors* of *Granada* by the *Spaniards*, to force them to turn *Christians*, being carried to Grand *Cairo*, together with a Copy of the Articles whereon *Granada* had been Surrendred to *Ferdinand*; the Soldan and his Mamalukes were so enraged thereat, that they threatned to treat all

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all the *Chriſtians*, but particularly the *Latin Chriſtians* at *Jeruſalem*, after the ſame manner as the *Spaniards* had, contrary to their Oaths, treated the *Mahometans*, that were their Subjects.

Ferdinand having receiv'd Advice of the Danger the *Latin Chriſtians* in *Egypt*, and other *Eaſtern* Countries were in, by reaſon of what he had done to the *Moors*; immediately diſpatch'd the Learned *Peter Martyr*, with the Character of his Ambaſſador, to the Soldan, to ſatisfie him of his having obſerved the Capitulations he had made with the *Moors*, and of his having never forced any of them to change their Religion. *Peter Martyr* being arrived at Grand *Cairo*, did with great Difficulty obtain a private Audience by Night of the Soldan, (who durſt not, for fear of the Mamalukes, give him one publickly) at which Audience, in conformity to what is ſaid of an Ambaſſador, *being one ſent to lie abroad for his Maſter's Service*, *Peter* did aſſure the Soldan, that all that he had been told of his Maſter's having broke his Oath with the *Moors*, in having perſecuted them to make them turn *Chriſtians*, was notoriouſly falſe: His Maſter and Miſtreſs being too good *Chriſtians* themſelves, to do a thing that was ſo contrary to their Religion, as the forcing of People by ſeverity to embrace

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it. He told him further, that it was true, that most of the *Granada Moors*, since they had been Subjects to his Master, had been baptiz'd, but that not one of them had been forc'd to receive that Sacrament, it not being lawful for *Christians* to administer it to any that did not earnestly and freely desire it.

But whether the Soldan (who with his Empire was quickly after that destroyed by the *Turks*) was satisfy'd or not with what the *Spanish* Ambassador had told him, of none of the *Moors* having been forc'd to receive Baptism; it is certain that several *Spanish* Divines were so sensible of their having been compell'd to receive that Sacrament, that they declared their Baptism to be null and void, and to have been a great Profanation of that Sacrament.

During the remaining part of the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, we hear little more of the *Granada Moriscoes*, (as the *Spaniards* call'd them, to distinguish them from the *Moors* of *Barbary*) than that they did universally continue to be *Mahometans*, and that with an extraordinary Aversion to *Christianity*; which Aversion was rather encreas'd than lessen'd in them, by the great Preachers, who were from time to time sent among them to instruct them; and by the Inquisition's burning great Numbers of them every Year for having apostatiz'd, if they

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they may be truly ſaid to have apoſtatiz'd from *Chriſtianity*, who, tho' forc'd to profeſs it, had never believ'd it, as all, or moſt of them that were put to Death, declared at the Stake, when they came to die.

In the Year 1526. the Emperor having ſpent the Summer in the City of *Granada*, and been ſplendidly entertain'd there by the *Moriſcoes*, with an Exerciſe call'd *Leylas*, which is ſaid to be the more diverting to the Spectators, for being dangerous to the Actors, a *Memorial* was put into his Hand by *Don Franciſco de Venegas*, *Don Michael de Aragon*, and *Don Lopez de Benazara*, three of the Corrigidors of that City, filled with Complaints of the inſufferable Grievances the *Moriſcoes* were under from the Clergy, Judges, *&c.* with an humble Supplication to him, to command them all to be ſpeedily redreſſed.

The Emperor being much ſcandalized at the Chriſtians being guilty of ſo great Cruelties and Injuſtices, did with the Conſent of his Council, appoint the Biſhop of *Guadix*, Doctor *Quintana*, Doctor *Vtiel*, *Pero Lopez*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevara*, to prepare themſelves to go forthwith to viſit the City and whole Kingdom of *Granada*, in order to enquire into the Merits of that Charge; and withal to look into the Behaviour of the *Moriſcoes*, and how

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they ſtood affected to the *Chriſtian* Religion. The Viſitors, where-ever they went, found there was but too much of Truth in the Complaints the *Moriſcoes* had made to the Emperor, of their being very ill uſed; but at the ſame time the *Moriſcoes* did plainly diſcover themſelves to be *Mahometans*; and that tho' it was then above ſeven and twenty Years ſince they had all been compelled to be baptized, there were not ſeven and twenty, no nor ſeven of them, that were true Chriſtians.

This Report having been made by the Viſitors, a *Junta* of the Court-Prelates and Lawyers was aſſembled to view their Proceſſes and Relations, in order to find out ſome Remedy for both thoſe Evils. The Members whereof this *Junta* conſiſted, were, the Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, who was Inquiſitor General, the Biſhop of *Oſma*, the Emperor's Confeſſor, the Archbiſhop of *Granada*, the Biſhop of *Guadix*, the Biſhop of *Almareia*, the Biſhop of *Mondonnado*, the Biſhop of *Oren*, the Commendador Mayor of *Calatrava*, *Franciſco de los Covos*, Doctor *Guevera*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevera*; who, after having held divers long Conſultations, did at laſt agree on the following Orders, for the Benefit of the *Moriſcoes*.

Firſt, That the Court of Inquiſition, that was in the City of *Jaen*, ſhould be re-

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removed from thence, and fix'd in the City of *Granada*, where moſt of the conſiderable *Moriſcoes* lived, to be a near and ſtanding Terror to them.

Secondly, That all Offences committed by the *Moriſcoes* before the Year 1527. ſhould be forgiven, but for ſuch as they ſhall commit after that, they ſhall be rigorouſly proceeded againſt by the Inquiſition.

Thirdly, That the *Moriſcoes* ſhall no longer ſpeak *Algavareia*, that is, *Mooriſh* or *Arabick*, but ſhall all ſpeak *Aljamaia*, that is, *Spaniſh*, as it was call'd by the *Moors*; and that all their Writings and Contracts ſhall be in *Spaniſh*.

Fourthly, That the *Moriſcoes*, Men and Women, ſhall no longer wear the *Mooriſh* Habit, but ſhall have their Cloaths all in the *Spaniſh* Faſhion.

Fifthly, That upon pain of Death no Taylor ſhall make any Cloaths, nor no Maſon ſhall build any Houſes, after the *Mooriſh* manner.

Sixthly, That no *Moriſca* ſhall be brought to bed, without having an old *Chriſtian* Woman preſent at her Labour, to ſee that no *Mahometan* Ceremonies be uſed on that Occaſion.

Laſtly, That for the inſtructing of *Moriſco* Children in the *Chriſtian* Faith, whoſe Parents will not inſtruct them in it, a Col-

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lege shall be erected in the City of *Granada*, another in the City of *Guadix*, and a third in the City of *Almareia*.

One can have no regard for Truth or Justice, that does not detest the Injustice and gross Partiality of this *Junta*, which, tho' it was constituted and assembled on purpose to have redressed the great Grievances the *Moriscoes* had complained of, and at which the Emperor himself was so much scandalized, was so far from doing any thing that did so much as look that way; that on the contrary, all that it did, was to increase their Vexations, and to make them more grievous than they were before. And of this, as soon as the *Junta*'s Orders were published, the *Moriscoes* complained aloud to the Emperor; particularly, of the erecting of the Court of Inquisition in the City of *Granada*: But all the Relief that they could obtain, was, The Emperor would not allow the Estates of the *Moriscoes*, who were taken up by the Inquisition, to be confiscated by that Court; and did permit the *Moriscoes* to wear Cloaths after their old Fashion; which small Indulgence, if we may believe the *Spaniards*, cost the *Moriscoes* very dear, having been procured by a Present of eighty thousand Ducats, which they made to the Emperor, being in great want of Money;

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Money; an Infelicity which ſeems to be entailed on the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

After this, the Fryars went on Preaching, and the Inquiſitors went on Burning the *Moriſcoes*, until the Year 1568. At which time *Philip* II. being aſſured from all hands, that unleſs ſome other Courſes were taken to reconcile the *Granada Moriſcoes* to the *Chriſtian* Faith, they would continue *Mahometans* to the end of the World; and conſidering, that they being a very Fruitful People, and under none of thoſe Reſtraints from Marriage, which great numbers of the old *Chriſtians* were under, would in a few Generations fill the Kingdom of *Granada* with People of that Sect; with the Advice of his Council, and of ſome of the Wiſeſt among the Eccleſiaſticks, he Publiſhed the following Laws; in order to extinguiſh, in the *Moriſcoes*, the Memory of their being deſcended of the *Moors*; the Memory whereof was truly reckoned to contribute not a little to their Obſtinacy in the Religion of that Nation.

1. "That it ſhould not be lawful for any "in the Kingdom of *Granada* to wear the "*Mooriſh* Habit, which was deſcribed in "the Law.

2. "That it ſhould not be lawful for a- "ny in that Kingdom, to obſerve the Cu- "ſtoms of the *Moors*; ſeveral of which Cu- "ſtoms were particulariz'd.

3.

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3. "That it ſhould not be lawful for a-"ny in that Kingdom, to ſpeak *Arabick*, or "to teach their Children that Language: "All which things they were commanded "to obſerve, upon Pain of Death.

The King being ſenſible that the *Moriſcoes* would be highly provoked by the ſtrict Execution of theſe Laws, which tho' in their own Nature Civil, had a natural tendency, and were deſign'd to extinguiſh in them their love for *Mahometiſm*; he did at the ſame time, command the *Moriſcoes*, to be all diſarmed, and not to be ſuffered to have Places or Houſes of any Strength; or to aſſemble any where together in great numbers.

The *Moriſcoes*, who reckoned that there was ſomething of Religion in every thing they had in common with the *Moors*, and which were not in uſe among the *Spaniards*, being extreamly uneaſie under the rigorous Execution of theſe Laws, ſent ſome Commiſſioners privately to the *Grand Seignior*, and to the *Moors* in *Barbary*, to acquaint them with the Cruelties which were exerciſed upon them by the *Spaniards*, on the account of their being *Muſſulmen*; and with the Laws which had been lately impoſed upon them, with an Intention of extinguiſhing the *Mahometan* Faith in *Spain*; beſeeching thoſe Princes, in the Name of their great

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great and common Prophet, to find out ſome way to oblige the *Spaniards* to ſuffer them to enjoy their Religion quietly, according to the Capitulation whereon the City of *Granada* had been ſurrendred to them; by which Agreement, the *Spaniards* were bound by Oath, not to give them any diſturbance on that account, nor to deny them the Uſe of Publick *Moſques*, for the free Exerciſe of their Worſhip. Upon theſe Complaints of the *Moriſcoes*, 800 *Turks* are ſaid to have been ſent, with a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition, into the Kingdom of *Granada*; but we are neither told from what Port they came, nor at what Port they were landed; but that upon their being got among the Mountains of *Granada*, the *Moors* did flock to them from all Parts, in ſuch numbers, that in a very ſhort time they had formed a conſiderable Army, and had ſo fortified all the Paſſages of the Mountains, that it was not poſſible for any Force that was not much ſuperior to theirs, to offend them. We are told farther, that they were no ſooner in Arms, than they did all renounce the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion; declaring, That they were, and had always been, true *Mahometans* in their Hearts; and were now reſolved to ſpend the laſt drop of their Blood in the maintenance of that Sect; and that they

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they did not only turn all their Churches into *Mosques*; but did also, in great triumph, burn all the Hosts, Images and Reliques that they found in them, killing a great many of the Priests and Fryars, which had been planted among them, to convert them, which has occasion'd a great swelling of the *Spanish Martyrology*.

So soon as the King heard of the *Moriscoes* being in Arms, the Marques of *Mondejar*, Governor of the City of *Granada*, was ordered, with all the Troops he could get together, to march against them; and though that Marques did beat them in most of the Skirmishes he had with them, yet in 18 Months time he was neither able to conquer them, nor to starve them among the Mountains, by keeping Provisions from going to them; both the *Turks* and the *Moors* being People that can live upon simple and very little Food.

The King fearing lest the *Moriscoes*, if they kept the Field much longer, might be reinforced, and supply'd with Provisions and Ammunition, either by the *Turks*, or by the *Moors*, sent a considerable and well disciplin'd Army against them, under the command of his Brother *Don John of Austria*, with Orders to attacque them vigorously on all sides: Which was done so briskly by that Young Prince, that in a few

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few Weeks, though with the loſs of a great many Men, (among whom was his Governor *Don Lewis Quixada*,) he did not leave a *Moriſco* any where in Arms. The *Moriſcoes* being thus totally ſubdu'd, were all with their Families removed out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, where it was eaſie for them to hold a Correſpondence with the *Moors* of *Barbary*, and diſperſed over the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and ſome other Inland Provinces, in which they and their Poſterity continued until the time of their general Expulſion. And in this *Moriſco* War, which laſted about two Years, above twenty thouſand *Spaniards* are ſaid to have been killed.

Having nothing more to write of the *Granada Moriſcoes*, from the time of their having been all tranſplanted into *Caſtile*, until the time of their generral Expulſion, in the Year 1610; but that notwithſtanding all the Diligence and Cruelties which were uſed to reconcile them to *Chriſtianity*, they and their Poſterity did ſtill continue as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts as ever they had been, I now paſs to the *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon*, who had all continued profeſs'd *Mahometans* for three hundred Years after they were conquered by the *Chriſtians*; and who having been all baptized by an extreme Force, did

did remain *Mahometans* in their Hearts until they were all expelled *Spain.*

James, King of *Arragon*, by whom *Valentia* was conquer'd in the Year 1236, finding that he could not, without depopulating his Conquests, turn the *Moors* out of it, commanded the Ecclesiasticks to set earnestly about the converting them to *Christianity*, as well to save their Souls, as to make them good Subjects to a *Christian* Prince; which he reckoned they could never be, so long as they remained *Mahometans:* And since few of the *Moriscoes* understood any Tongue but the *Arabick*, he desired the *Fryars* to study that Language, to be able to Preach in it to the *Moriscoes:* And to encourage that Study, he erected two Schools for it; the one in the Island of *Majorca*, and the other at *Barcelona:* The Fryars, and particularly the *Dominicans*, in conformity to the King's Command, backed by a Decree of a Council assembled at *Toledo*, and another of a General Chapter of the *Dominican* Order, did appoint such of their Orders, as they judg'd to be most capable, to apply themselves assiduously to the Study of the *Arabick* Tongue; which was done by several of them with so much diligence, that they are said to have become great Masters of, and eloquent Preachers in *Arabick* in a very short time.

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But whatever their Succeſs was in the Study of the Language of the *Moriſcoes*, it is certain, that either thorow their own Impatience, or the *Moriſcoes* Obſtinacy, their Succeſs in Preaching to them was very ſmall; for in leſs time, after the Conqueſt of *Valentia*, than that difficult Tongue is ordinarily attainable, in ſuch a meaſure as to preach in it, the Fryars employed in that Work, were every where repreſenting the *Moriſcoes*, as ſuch incurable Infidels, that it was in vain ever to hope, by any human means, unleſs it were by thoſe of force, to convert them to *Chriſtianity*: And to make the *Moriſcoes* Obſtinacy in their Infidelity the more inexcuſable, they pretended to have wrought abundance of Miracles among them without any Succeſs.

Upon theſe Repreſentations, of the Obſtinacy of the *Moriſcoes* in the *Mahometan* Sect, *Pope Clement* the IV, writ a long Letter to the ſame King *James* that conquered *Valentia*, to baniſh the *Moriſcoes* out of all his Dominions, exhorting him to it in the following Words; *Conſider my Son, conſider, how dangerous a thing it is to ſuffer* Saracens *to live in your Kingdoms; who though they may out of Fear, for a time, conceal their Malice, will, when ever they ſhall have an opportunity, diſcover it with a vengeance: So that by ſuffering thoſe obſtinate Infidels*

fidels to remain within your Dominions, you do nourish a Serpent in your Bosom, and Fire in your Lap: With a great deal more to the same Purpose, and with the same Passion.

At the same time *Clement* writ the following Letter to that King, on occasion of his having made one *Jatruda*, a profess'd *Jew*, Lord of his Treasury; and having had a Conference held before him, concerning the Truth of the *Christian Faith*, betwixt a *Dominican Fryar* and a *Jew*; and of a Book likewise which had been published by that *Jew* against the *Christian Faith*, upon the Subject of that Conference.

Most Glorious Prince, That the Zeal wherewith you do incessantly endeavour to Adorn the Orthodox Faith, may shine the more Illustriously in the Subduing of all its Enemies and Rivals, and particularly the Jews, *(who do above all others, Blaspheme the Christian Name with Violence and Bitterness) for the future, you must not admit any of that Religion to bear Offices, neither must you confer any Honour upon any of them; but on the contrary, must so far as the Privileges allow'd them by the* Apostolical Sea *will permit you, restrain, and trample upon their Malice, and not suffer their Blasphemies to go unpunished, but above all, the Impudence of that* Jew *ought to be severely Chastised, who, upon the Disputation which he had in your Presence, with our Loving,*

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and Religious Son, Father Paul, *of the* Predicant *Order, is ſaid to have writ a Book which he has filled with Lies, and has, to propagate them, diſperſed ſeveral Copies of the ſaid Book through your Territories; for which impudent Fact he ought to be puniſhed ſeverely, but without touching his Life, or maiming his Body, yet ſo as to terrifie others from ever being ſo Audacious as to attempt the like. We do therefore admoniſh your Serenity,* &c.

Whatever Effect this Letter, written by the Pope concerning the *Jews*, had on the King, he was ſo inflam'd by that which was writ to him, concerning the *Moriſcoes*, that, after that, could he have had his Will, he had not left one of them within his Dominions that had refuſed to be Baptiz'd.

But the Conſtitution of the Government of *Aragon*, and *Valentia*, being ſuch, that the King had no Authority to do any thing of a Publick Nature without the Concurrence of the Three Eſtates in *Cortes*, or *Parliament* Aſſembled; the King call'd a *Cortes*, to try if he could prevail with 'em to have all the *Moriſcoes* Baniſhed that wou'd not turn *Chriſtians*.

In which *Cortes* the King made this following Speech at the Opening of it.

Worthy Senators, You are all Witneſſes of the great Labours we have undergone to conquer this Kingdom and City, neither is our

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Mind as yet quiet, not so much through a desire of making farther Conquests, as one of a Zeal to conquer the Souls of our Subjects to Christ, and to the true Religion; to which Holy Enterprize, we have given a beginning in this City, by commanding all the Moriscoes *that live therein, either to turn* Christians, *or to go and live somewhere else. But in the Country we have not been able to carry this matter so far. Wherefore, what I have to tell you is, That since the War is at an end, and all things are well settled, and the* Moriscoes *have been permitted to live quietly in their Houses, and upon their Lands, and have, to make the Yoke of their Subjection the more easie, been suffered to profess their own Religion; their persevering after all this, in the wicked Sect of* Mahometism, *is an undeniable Evidence of Infidelity being deeply rooted in their Hearts, and does further assure the World, that they will never be faithful either to God, or us.* After the King had made this Speech, it was proposed, that the *Moriscoes*, if they would not turn *Christians*, should be all banished the Kingdom. The Ecclesiasticks and Commons gave their Consent to it: But the Barons, to whom most of the *Moriscoes* were Vassals, and whose Lands would have been of little Profit to them, after the People by whom they were cultivated were sent away, would by no means agree to its being

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ing done, declaring it to be both an impolitick, and a wicked thing; and that the Ecclesiasticks, instead of promoting the Expulsion of a People (by whom the whole Work of the Kingdom was done in a manner) if they would not turn *Christians*, ought to take pains to instruct them in the Faith; in which, whatever might be pretended, it was certain they had never been sufficiently instructed; so that it was the *Moriscoes* Ignorance of the *Christian Religion*, more than their Love for the *Mahometan*, that kept them from being converted.

By this brisk Opposition, made by the whole Body of the Barons, (who were called, *The Military Arm*, or *Estado*,) to the first publick Motion that had been made for the Banishing of the *Moriscoes*, the Design of Expelling them was so knocked on the head, that the Barons continuing to the last to be of the same Mind, as we shall see hereafter; it was not, that we read of, notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* did all still remain *Mahometans*, revived again in above 300 Years; when the Power and Authority of the Barons were, by the Policy of their Princes, brought to a very low Ebb, from what they had been anciently.

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The Barons, or Nobles, who in the beginning of the Conquests made upon the *Moors* in *Spain*, were Fellow-Soldiers, or Fellow-Adventurers with those who came afterwards to be their Princes; did always, when they set a King over them, reserve great Rights and Privileges to themselves; and particularly a Claim to the greatest Share of the Towns and Lands which were conquered by them, as belonging to them by the same Right, that the Crown had to that Share of the Lands which fell to its lot. And the ancient Barons were by that means so powerful, that their Princes were not able to do any thing of a publick Nature without their Concurrence and Consent. Now these, as we shall see hereafter, having never given their consent to the expelling of the *Moriscoes*, made the doing of it to be as Illegal as it was Inhuman. And to satisfie the curious Reader that it was so, I think it will not be improper, in this Place, to give him a short account of the Government of *Aragon*, to which *Valentia* belonged; as it was constituted when it was first erected into a Monarchy.

The People that recovered *Aragon* from the *Moors*, finding it most convenient for them to be under a Kingly Government, did, before they chose a King, for the security of their Properties and Liberties under that

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that Form of Government, make ſeveral Laws and Conſtitutions, which their Kings, before they were acknowledged to be ſuch, were to ſwear to obſerve inviolably. As,

1. That the King ſhould not do any thing of a publick Nature, without the conſent of the *Three Armes*, or *Eſtates* in *Cortes* or *Parliament* aſſembled.

2. That there ſhould be for ever a Standing Magiſtrate, named by the Three Eſtates, with the Title of, *Juſtice of Aragon*; with full Authority to redreſs all the Grievances of the Subjects.

3. That in caſe the King deny to do Juſtice to any Subject, according to the Sentence of the ſaid *Juſtice*, that the Barons and Rich Men, upon Complaints being made to them thereof, ſhould aſſemble themſelves, and charge thoſe that held Lands of the Crown, not to pay their Rents, until the Aggrieved Subject was relieved.

4. That it ſhou'd not be lawful for the King, without the conſent of the *Three Eſtates*, to bring any Foreign Troops into the Kingdom; and in caſe he did, that it ſhould be lawful for the Subjects to take up Arms, and to drive them out, tho' headed by the King in Perſon.

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Lastly, That in case the King did violate any of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he might lawfully be Deposed by the Subjects, who were to swear Obedience to him in the following Form of Words;

Nos que valemus tanto como vos, os hazemus Nuestro Rey y Sennor: com tal, que nos guardeys Nuestros Fueros y Libertades ò Sy no, no.

That is to say,

We who are as valuable as you, do make you our King and Lord, but upon condition, That you shall preserve our Laws and Liberties; and if not, not.

But to return to the *Moriscoes*:

After the forementioned Attempt, to have banished all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, had miscarried, we hear little of them besides loud Complaints of their Invincible Obstinacy in their Infidelity, until the Year 1510; when upon *Ferdinand*'s having forced all the *Moryoes* in the Kingdom of *Granada*, either to be baptized, or to leave *Spain*; the Barons fearing lest he might attempt to do the same in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, did oblige him in a Cortes assembled in that Year, to give his Royal Assent to the following Law; which

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which is ſtill extant in the *Extravagants*, *Fol.* 73.

We do by this Law and Statute Enact, That the Moriſcoes, *abiding or dwelling in Cities, or Royal Villages; or in any other Village, Places, or Countries, belonging to the Eccleſiaſticks, Rich-men, Nobles, Knights, or Citizens; or of any other Perſons whatſoever, ſhall not be expelled, or turn'd out of them; neither ſhall they be baniſhed out of the Kingdom of* Valentia; *or out of any of the Cities, or Royal Villages thereof; neither ſhall they ever be forced to turn Chriſtians. And it is our further Will and Pleaſure, That they ſhall not be hindred to Trade, or to buy and ſell, with their among themſelves, or among Chriſtians, neither by us, nor by any of our Succeſſors, but ſhall enjoy all the ſame Liberties they have formerly enjoyed.*

But the Barons being ſenſible that there were ſome People that were continually calling upon their Princes to baniſh all the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*, if they would not turn *Chriſtians*; and judging, that they could never do too much to ſecure the Kingdom againſt ſo fatal a Blow as that would be to it, they had it made a part of their King's Coronation Oath, *That he ſhould, upon no pretence whatſoever, expel the* Moriſcoes,

nor force them against their Wills, to be baptized; and that he should neither directly, nor indirectly, ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said Oath; or in case a Dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon, should be null and void. By which *Law* and *Oath*, (so short sighted a thing is Human Providence,) the Barons did reckon, that they had sufficiently secur'd *Valentia* from ever being depriv'd of so numerous and industrious a People, as the *Moriscoes* were.

But the Commons of *Valentia* having in the Year 1520. taken up Arms, and driven all the Nobles, and all the King's Officers out of the Kingdom: The first thing they did after they had taken the Government into their wild Hands, was to command all the *Moriscoes*, by a Publick Proclamation, upon pain of Death, to be baptized so soon as that Proclamation came to their knowledge: Which was done by the Commons, more out of spight to the Barons, by whom the *Moriscoes* had been so long protected, notwithstanding their Infidelity, than out of any true Zeal for Religion. But upon whatever Motive that Proclamation was set forth by the Commons, the *Moriscoes* apprehending that they had no other way to secure their Lives under

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der ſuch a furious Government, but by complying with it in this Matter, they were baptized every where in ſuch vaſt numbers, that it was verily believ'd, that there was not a *Moriſco* left unbaptized in the whole Kingdom.

By theſe forced *Baptiſms*, the Controverſy about their Validity was revived again; ſome Divines holding them to be valid, and others denying them to be ſo, for not having been voluntary; which they could not be ſaid to have been, having been received to avoid preſent Death.

The Emperor *Charles* the V*th.* having reduced the Commons to Obedience, called an Aſſembly of the *Clergy* to determine this difficult Point; in which Aſſembly, the Inquiſitor General being Preſident of it, it was concluded, That though the Commons had done ill, in compelling the *Moriſcoes* to be baptized, thoſe *Baptiſms* were nevertheleſs ſo valid, as to oblige all that had received them, to profeſs the *Chriſtian Faith*, and to make them liable to the Puniſhments due to *Apoſtates*, if they return'd to their former Infidelity: Which *Determination* was juſtify'd by the 57th *Decree* of the 4th *Council* of *Toledo*, held in the Year 671; in which *Decree* the *Fathers*, after having condemned the forcing of Infidels to receive *Chriſtian Baptiſm*; *Becauſe God has*

mercy

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mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardneth; did nevertheless declare, That the *Jews*, who in the Year 649, to the number of ninety thousand grown People, had been forced by King *Sisebut* to receive *Christian Baptism*, were, notwithstanding that Compulsion, obliged to continue in the Profession of the *Christian Faith*.

It is necessary, saith the Decree, *that they be constrained to hold the Faith, notwithstanding they were at first forc'd to embrace it; that the Name of God may not be blasphemed; and the Faith they embraced may not become vile and contemptible.*

When this Determination was made publick, it raised a mighty disturbance in *Valentia*, vast numbers of the *Moriscoes*, (dreading the Thoughts of being brought under the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as *Christians*,) declaring thereupon, that they had never been baptized, but had only profess'd *Christianity*, to avoid the Fury of the Commons.

The Inquisitors not being able, by reason that the *Moriscoes*, (who had been baptized in vast Crouds) had not been registred, to disprove this Pretence, did petition the Emperor to destroy it; by commanding all the *Moriscoes*, who did own their having been baptized, to be confirmed; and to com-

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command those who affirmed, that they had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual Slavery or Banishment, to receive that Sacrament immediately.

But the Emperor being bound by an *Oath* never to do that, nor to desire, accept of, or make use of any Dispensation with that *Oath*, a Dispensation nevertheless was sent to him by *Pope Clement* the VIIth. in the Year 1524, whereby he was released from the whole of that *Oath*, in the following Words.

And we do further release Your Majesty, from the Obligation of the Oath which we are informed was taken by you in the General Estates of the said Kingdoms and Principalities, never to expel the said Infidels; absolving you from all Censures, and Penalties of the guilt of Perjury, which you might incur thereby; and dispensing with you, as to that Promise, so far as it is necessary. And we do further grant free and full power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by Ecclesiastical Censures, and other proper and lawful Methods, requiring the assistance of the Secular Arm, if it shall be judged necessary, all Apostolical Constitutions, and all Ordinances, Statutes, and Priviledges, of the said Kingdoms and Principality, to the contrary, notwithstanding, though confirmed by an Oath,

and

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and by an Apostolical Confirmation, or by whatsoever other Authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a relaxation from the said Oath should not be desired, nor ever be made use of, if granted: And that the said Privileges should never be by any means abrogated: And that whatsoever shall be done to the prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void.

And we do exhort your Majesty, by your Letters, to commit the Preaching of the Word of God to the said Moors *inhabiting the said Kingdoms and Principality of* Catalonia, *to our beloved Sons, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity, deputed, or to be deputed in the said Kingdoms and Principality, to open the way of Truth and Salvation to the Faithful. And in case the* Moors *do persist in the hardness of their Hearts, and in their Perfidiousness, so as not to embrace the Faith of Christ, within a Term to be prefix'd by the Inquisitors, they shall be commanded, upon pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage, to depart out of the said Kingdoms and Principality; which if they fail to do within the said term, they shall be all Slaves, and shall be understood to be such.*

This Dispensation of the Popes, does plainly discover to the World, how little all Laws, Statutes, and Oaths, though con-

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confirmed by the *See* of *Rome*, do ſignify to the ſecurity of the Lives, Liberties, and Property of Subjects that are not Papiſts, under a Popiſh Prince: It being impoſſible for the Wit of Man to frame an Oath fuller to all thoſe purpoſes, than this was, that is here diſpenſed with. For, beſides that it contained a Promiſe, never to deſire a Diſpenſation, or if a Diſpenſation ſhould be offer'd, not to accept, or make uſe of it; it contain'd a Declaration likewiſe, that whatſoever ſhould by virtue of any Diſpenſation, be done to the prejudice thereof, ſhould be null and void, to all Intents and Purpoſes. An Oath never to deſire a Diſpenſation, or to accept, or make uſe of none if offer'd; being a matter, the plenitude of the Papal Power, as we ſee by this, can diſpenſe with, when ever it is for its advantage to do it.

The Emperor was no ſooner unty'd from this Branch of his Coronation Oath, than he commanded the chief Inquiſitor to ſend Preachers among the *Moriſcoes*, to inſtruct them in the *Chriſtian Faith*: Sending the following Letter at the ſame time to all the *Moriſcoes*, to let them know what they muſt expect, if they did not preſently embrace it.

Know

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Know ye, that we being moved by the Grace and Inspiration of Almighty God, are resolved, not to suffer any Religion besides the Christian, *to be Professed within our Kingdoms and Dominions. Wherefore desiring the Health and Salvation of your Souls, and to rescue you from the Error and Imposture you are under, we do beseech, intreat, and command you all to turn Christians, and immediately to receive the Water of Holy Baptism. To this our Command, if you shall yield a ready Obedience, you shall enjoy all the Liberties and Franchises, that are by the Laws of these Kingdoms enjoyed by Christians, which shall also be preserved to you as to Faithful Subjects. But in case you do prove refractory, we will take some other Course with you. And whereas we are immovably fix'd in this Resolution, we would have you be sensible of the Benefit we intend you thereby, and to conform your selves to God's Will and ours.*

Dated at *Segovie*, the 12*th* of *September*, in the Year of our *Lord*, 1525.

A Proclamation was set forth at the same time by *Germana*, the Queen Dowager of *Ferdinand*, Governor of *Valentia*, commanding all the *Moriscoes*, under great Penalties, to hear the Preachers that were sent to them; and commanding the Barons to oblige

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oblige their *Morisco* Vassals to go to Church, and to make use of all the other means of Instruction.

A short time having been allowed for the instructing of the *Moriscoes* in the *Christian Faith*, an Edict was published by the Emperor, commanding all the *Moriscoes* that were not baptized, either to receive *Baptism* immediately, or to depart out of all the *Spanish* Dominions, upon pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage.

We must not think, that an Affair wherein all the Barons of *Valentia* and *Aragon* were so deeply concerned, could be carried so far without having met with Opposition; for the Council of *Aragon* no sooner heard of the Determination of the Inquisitor General, and of his Junta concerning the *Moriscoes*, than they remonstrated warmly against it to the Emperor, and against the making Use of any Violence, to force those Infidels to turn Christians; which they were positive could not be done, without endangering the Peace of the Kingdom, and involving it in fresh Slaughters; of which Danger, and of the other great Inconveniences which must attend the forcing of the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, they said, His Majesty's Ancestors were so sensible, that tho they had been often vehemently importun'd to it, they

they would never ſuffer it to be done, having left their Converſion to their being ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, which was the only right Method of converting Infidels to it. To all this, and to a great deal more contained in that warm Remonſtrance, the Emperor anſwered, That things great in themſelves always had ſome great Inconveniency attending them; for which reaſon, Princes that undertake great Enterpriſes, always overlook ſuch Inconveniences. He told them, he ſaid this, to let them know, that tho he was not ignorant that the Converſion of the *Moriſcoes* muſt needs give him much Trouble, and muſt be attended with many Scandals, nevertheleſs, ſince he ſhould thereby do God eminent Service, let what will follow upon it, he was reſolved, ſince God had been ſo gracious to him, as to deliver his Enemy, the *French* King into his Hands, to draw the *Moriſcoes*, who were God's Enemies, to his holy Faith: And that ſince the clearing of all his Dominions of Infidels and Hereticks would be the greateſt Expreſſion that he could make of his Thankfulneſs to God for ſo great a Mercy, he was determin'd to make it. *Words* (ſaith a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian) *certainly worthy of a moſt Chriſtian Prince, and that one, who had more*

Tears

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Years over his Head than this Emperor had at that time. By which we ſee plainly, that in ſome Mens Opinion, the deſtroying of all that will not be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, is the moſt glorious and meritorious Action that any Prince can perform.

In Conformity to this Anſwer of the Emperor, the Biſhop of *Guadix*, Doctor *Eſcarnier*, Father *John* of *Salamanca*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevera*, were by the Inquiſitor General, and his *Junta*, diſpatch'd to *Valencia* as their Commiſſaries, to require all that had been baptized at the Command of the Commons, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, to come and be confirmed, and upon their repenting of their Apoſtacy to the *Mahometan* Law, to be abſolved from it. Theſe Commiſſaries were well received in *Valencia* by the Commons, but very ill by the Barons, they being apprehenſive the Work they came about, muſt end either in a great Slaughter of the *Moriſcoes*, or in their total Expulſion; of which, now the Emperor was by the Pope releaſed from the Oath he was under not to do it, they lived in a continual Fear.

All or moſt of the *Moriſcoes* that had been compelled by the Commons to receive Baptiſm, (who were reckoned to have

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been about fifteen or sixteen thousand Families) having, as soon as that Fury was over, returned to the open Profession of the *Mahometan* Law, when they heard of the Commissaries being come, fled with their Wives, Children and Goods, to the Mountains of *Bernia*; and so far were the Barons from stopping them, which they might have done with Ease, that they rather encouraged them to it, hoping by so great a Commotion, to have made the Emperor change his Inquisition Methods; as in all Probability it would have done, had not that young Prince's Head, (which was so full of the Glory of having the *French* King his Prisoner) been by the Inquisitors and their Creatures possessed with a Conceit of that Honour's having been bestowed on *Spain*, for no other Reason, but to oblige her, in Gratitude to Heaven, not to suffer any that were not baptized, to live in any of her Territories. So great Artists are Inquisitors, to give such a turn to all extraordinary Blessings, as well as Calamities, and to all unusual Appearances in the Heavens, tho they are common to other Nations, that are not of their Religion, as to possess their Prince with their being all loud and immediate Calls from God to him, to extirpate all that are Enemies to Popery.

It

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It was in the Month of *April*, that this great Body of *Moriſcoes* fled to the Mountains; and tho the Commiſſaries did all that they were able, both by great Promiſes, and by great Threatnings, to have brought them to ſubmit, it was the Middle of *Auguſt* before they were brought to it; when ſeeing Troops coming from all Quarters to attack them, upon a Promiſe from the Commiſſaries of a general Pardon for their Apoſtacies, and all the other Offences which they had committed againſt the King and the Inquiſition, they all came from among the Mountains, and having confeſſed their Apoſtacy, and ſaid, they were ſorry for it, they were all abſolved, and afterwards confirmed; which Confirmation was exactly of a Piece with the Baptiſm it ſuppoſed, having both been procured by an extreme Violence, and without any thing of Inſtruction in the Chriſtian Faith.

The Work they were ſent to do in *Valencia* being thus finiſhed, the Commiſſaries were preparing to return to *Madrid*, when a Proclamation came forth, commanding all the *Moriſcoes* that had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, forthwith to receive that Sacrament; with which Proclamation, Orders were ſent to the Commiſſaries to remain

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in *Valentia*, to see it executed by a general Conversion of all the *Moriscoes*.

This *general Conversion*, as the *Spaniards* call it, was begun in the City of *Valentia*, where it was soon over, there being but few *Moriscoes* in that City that had not been baptized at the Command of the Commons: But in *Almonacir*, a great Town, that consisted of unbaptiz'd *Moriscoes*, the Gates were shut against the Commissaries; and all that were in it that were able to bear Arms, having taken them up, they declared they would die fighting, rather than be either Slaves or Christians.

This Town was closely besieged by regular Troops, from the twentieth of *October* to the fourteenth of *February*: On which Day, after much Blood had been shed on both sides in Attacks and Sallies, it was taken by Storm, and most of the *Moriscoes* that were in it put to the Sword; the rest had their Lives spared, upon their yielding to be baptized. The Baron of *Cortea* was singular, in being himself as violent as if he had been a Commissary, to force all his Vassals to be christen'd; but his Singularity cost him dear; he, with seventeen more that were in his Company, being killed by the *Moriscoes*, as they were converting them after a very lordly manner. But this general Conversion

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ſion no where met with ſo great Contradiction, as in the Lands belonging to the Duke of *Segorbe*; who, notwithſtanding he had the Commiſſary *Guevera* with him, to ſatisfy him of the Lawfulneſs and Expediency of converting Infidels to the Faith in that manner, was nevertheleſs, of all the Nobles of *Valencia*, the moſt eager againſt it.

On the twenty third Day of *November*, the *Moriſcoes* of the Valleys of *Segorbe*, *Uxa*, and of *Almanoeir*, and of the River of *Monvedro*, having taken up Arms with a full purpoſe to die, rather than turn Chriſtians, they repaired with their Wives, Children and Goods, to the Mountains of *Eſpadon*, reſolving to lay their Bones there, if they ſhould not be able to obtain leave to live quietly in the Poſſeſſion of the *Mahometan* Law. Upon the News of this great Inſurrection, three thouſand Diſciplined Men were, by Queen *Germana*, ſent with the Commiſſaries, to have ſuppreſs'd it in the beginning; but thoſe Apoſtolical Troops being neither numerous enough to Inveſt that long Ridge of ſteep Mountains, nor brave enough to Aſſault them, they gave the *Moriſcoes* but little diſturbance; who ſallying out frequently by Night in great Bodies, return'd laden with Proviſions; of

which they had likewise good Store from the *Moriscoes* that lived near those Mountains, who, tho' they had been Baptised, did use to say, that they did not grudge to give the Bread out of their own, and their Childrens Mouths, to feed *Musselmen*, who were fighting for the Honour of their Prophet *Mahomet*. Christians worthy of forc'd Conversions, Baptisms, and Confirmations! In their Sallies, the *Moriscoes* are said to have given no Quarter to old Christians, and to have destroy'd all the Churches, Images, and Relicks that they met with: This Insurrection growing daily more formidable, the Standard of *Valencia*, which all the Barons are bound to follow when it takes the Field, was sent to the Mountains of *Espadon*; but it was so thinly attended there, that the *Moriscoes*, after it was set up, were as little disturbed as they were before.

The Emperor, who was at that time at *Toledo*, perceiving that the *Spanish* armed Apostles, had neither Faith enough to remove the Mountains of *Espadon*, nor Courage enough to storm them, dispatched three thousand *Germans* he had with him, with express Orders to assault those Mountaineers without breaking Ground; which the *Germans*, having joyned the *Spaniards*, did so vigorously the Morning after they arrived, that before Noon

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Noon they had made themſelves Maſters of the Mountains, and did put all the *Moriſcoes*, Men, Women and Children, that they met with, to the Sword; whereas the *Spaniards* killed only the old People, giving the Young their Lives, on condition that they would be Baptized; tho' after they had been Chriſtened by the Commiſſaries, they ſold them for Slaves, which was the Puniſhment of their Rebellion.

Above five thouſand *Moriſcoes* were killed in this Action, but not above ſixty three *Germans* and *Spaniards*; among the Wounded of which Nation, was the Commiſſary, Fryar *Guevera*, as he himſelf tells us, boaſting of it as of an Apoſtolical Honour.

Such was the *General Converſion* of the *Moriſcoes* of *Valencia*, ſaith a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, which was begun on *September*, in the Year 1524. and was finiſhed on *October*, in the Year 1525. and for my part I cannot but ſay, to the great Diſhonour of Chriſtianity, its Profeſſors having made uſe of Methods worſe than the *Mahometan*, to convert *Mahometans* to its Faith; I ſay, worſe than the *Mahometan*, becauſe, tho it is true, that the Sword was by the Impoſtor *Mahomet* appointed to be the great Inſtrument of propagating his Religion thro' the World; yet he gave the

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Sword a Commission only to conquer Nations to that End; but not to compel the Conquered personally to profess his Faith; leaving that to the Advantages and Encouragements which do naturally attend a Religion that is regnant.

But tho the Emperor was by the Pope and his Agents perswaded (to the great Profanation of the Sacrament of Baptism) by these extream violent Methods to compel all the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, he was nevertheless so far from being willing that they should be all driven out of *Spain*, that he did all he was able to prevent their leaving it; witness his imposing it as an Article in his Agreement with *Hazem* King of *Tunis*, when he was restored by him to his Kingdom, That he should never suffer any of the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, *Granada*, or of any other Part of *Spain*, to harbour within any of his Dominions, which was the Country they commonly fled to.

The *Moriscoes*, that did not own their having ever been baptized, perceiving that there was no Remedy, but that they must either leave their Native Countries, or be Slaves in it, if they did not turn Christians, the Generality of them did receive Baptism. Only about *Pianaguazil*, where the Unbaptized were very numerous, they took

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took up Arms to defend themſelves againſt it; but being quickly ſubdued, they were forc'd likewiſe to receive that Sacrament: So that after the Year 1526. there was not a *Moriſco* left in *Spain*, that had not been baptiz'd.

As ſuch forced Converſions as theſe muſt neceſſarily make work for the Inquiſition; ſo that Court having now got all the *Moriſcoes* directly under its Juriſdiction, did begin preſently to exerciſe its cuſtomary Cruelties upon them; vaſt Numbers of them being burnt every Year, for having apoſtatiz'd from Chriſtianity to the *Mahometan* Sect.

The Barons whoſe original Power was much leſſened, ſince the late Rebellion of the Commons, notwithſtanding they had been the chief Sufferers in it, whilſt it laſted, did petition the Emperor that a ſtop might be put to the Cruelties exerciſed by the Inquiſition upon the *Moriſcoes*, until they were better inſtructed in a Religion, which they had been ſo lately compelled to profeſs: The Emperor Judging this Petition of the Barons not to be unreaſonable, agreed to it, and (having Power from the Pope ſo to do, he) ſuſpended the Juriſdiction of the Inquiſition as to the *Moriſcoes*, until they were more fully inſtructed in the *Chriſtian Faith*, ordering the chief Inquiſitor

quisitor at the same time, to send greater Numbers of Preachers among them, and to charge them not to give over Preaching, until they had fully instructed and settled them in the true Religion. Among the Fryars of this Mission, there was one *John Micon*, a *Dominican*, who having preach'd a great many Sermons to little or no purpose, he did in a fit of Zeal, one day, from the Pulpit, command the *Moriscoes* that were his Auditors, to go and fetch a dead Body, that he might raise it to Life, before their Eyes, to confirm the Truth of the Doctrines he had preached to them; but the *Moriscoes* either having no dead Body ready, or not daring to fetch one; because if they had, they would thereby have discovered that they were at least doubtful in the *Faith*; which, with the Inquisition, is the same thing as to deny it, the Experiment was not try'd, and the Fryar came down triumphant from the Pulpit, insulting over the *Moriscoes* as Infidels that were so strongly prejudic'd against the *Christian Faith*, that they were not willing to see a Miracle wrought, to convince them of its Truth, when he had offered, for that purpose, to have wrought one before their Eyes.

The Fryars, and particularly *Micon*, the Pretender to Miracles, growing weary of preach-

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preaching to the *Moriſcoes*, did, according to their Cuſtom, fill the Court, and the whole Country, with ſuch loud Exclamations of their prodigious Obſtinacy in the *Mahometan Sect*, that the Inquiſitors were let looſe upon them again, as the only Apoſtles that had the right Methods of converting ſuch Infidels, if it was poſſible to convert them to the Faith; under whoſe ſevere Diſcipline of Racking, Whipping, Baniſhing and Burning, the *Moriſcoes* having continued for ſeveral Years, the Barons in a *Cortes* aſſembled at *Mocon*, in the Year 1534, complained of thoſe Severities; repreſenting it as a very unjuſt thing in the Inquiſition, to puniſh thoſe who had been ſo lately forced to be baptized, when convicted of Apoſtacy, with the ſame Rigors that they did old Chriſtians, who had been born and bred in the Faith, that were found guilty of the ſame Crime: And having no Hopes of being able a ſecond time to procure a Suſpenſion of the Authority of the Inquiſition, they laboured hard to obtain a thing that they reckoned was next door to it: which was, That the Inquiſitors, in Conſideration of the Sum of Fifty Thouſand Soldos, that ſhould be paid to them yearly, by the Communities of the *Moriſcoes*, ſhould have no Share either in the real or perſonal

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Estate of any *Morisco* that was condemned by them; their real Estates being to go to their Lords, and their personal to their Heirs at Law: By which Bargain, to which the Inquisitors were with much ado brought to agree, the Barons did hope the Edge of their Zeal, against the *Moriscoes*, would be very much abated, by not being continually whetted by Covetousness, as it had been before; whilst they were in a manner Heirs to all that they condemned.

But tho this Agreement with the Inquisition was made wholly by the Power and Interest of the Barons, it was afterwards objected against the *Moriscoes* as an Evidence of their being *Hereticks* or *Infidals*; *Because none but such*, said the Inquisitors, *would pay so much Money yearly, on purpose to mitigate the Punishments of Hereticks and Apostates.*

In a Letter written by *Lewis Bertram*, a *Dominican* Fryar, in the Year 1579. to the Duke of *Neguiera*, Vice-Roy of *Valencia*, we meet with an Account of the State the New Converts were in at that time, and of the Methods that Fryar, who has been beatify'd by the Pope, did judge to be the most proper to make them true Catholicks.

Fryar

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Fryar *Bertram's* Letter to the Duke of *Neguiera.*

Moſt Illuſtrious and Excellent Lord,

HAving *firſt commended the Affairs of the New Chriſtians to God, The great Hardneſs of Heart that is in moſt of them (I pray God it be not in them all) being ſuppoſed, and that they are all Hereticks, or (which is worſe) Apoſtates, who do plainly diſcover an Averſion for the* Chriſtian Religion, *and do, ſo far as they are able, obſerve all the Rites of* Mahomet's Alcoran *(keeping their Children alſo from being* Chriſtians, *when they find them diſpoſed to it.) And it being ſuppoſed likewiſe, that tho it is now about fifty Years ſince they were all baptized, that they are as far as ever they were from being true* Chriſtians: *All theſe things, I ſay, being ſuppoſed, and that mild and merciful Methods will never do any good with them: My Opinion is, that the Secular and Eccleſiaſtick Princes ought to uſe one of theſe two Remedies with them. Firſt, To oblige them by rigorous Puniſhments to obſerve the* Chriſtian Religion, *and to forſake the Sect of* Mahomet. [*Neither is their having been forc'd in the times of the Communities, and ſince, to be baptized, ſufficient to keep*

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keep them from being treated after such a manner: For notwithstanding that was not well done, and I would to God it had never been; the Consequences thereof having taught us abundantly, how much better it would have been, to have observed the Custom of the Church, as it is well declared by St. Thomas: *Nevertheless, those who were then compelled to be Baptized, did, in some Sense, consent to it; and of the* Moriscoes *that are now living, there is not one in twenty that has not been Baptized when they were Infants; and it is certain, from the Determination of the Church, that such may be obliged no less than old Christians, to observe the* Christian Faith, *tho at the same time, if they should turn Heretricks, or Apostates, I think they ought not to be punished as rigorously as if they were old* Christians.]

In order to the making this first Remedy effectual, the Moriscoes *must be made to lose the* Arabick *Tongue, otherwise their Women and Children will not understand their Preachers and Confessors, and must be commanded, under pecuniary Mulcts, not to speak that Language; they must also be forced to go to Church on* Sundays *and* Holydays; *and no* Morisca *Woman must have leave to marry, before she can repeat the* Christian Doctrine.

The Second *Remedy, if the* First *be not used, is, Not to suffer the* Sacrament *of* Baptism.

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tiſm *to be adminiſtred to the Children of any of the* Moriſcoes, *without taking them from their Parents; ſince it is morally certain, that if they continue with their Parents, they will make them all Apoſtates, being ſo themſelves: And it is much better the* Moriſcoes *ſhould always be* Mahometans, *than be either Apoſtates or Hereticks.*

Such Repreſentations as theſe, of the Infidelity of the *Moriſcoes*, coming from all Quarters, *Philip* the IId. who had the Secret of reconciling ſeveral Enormous Vices to a very hot Zeal for Religion, was calling Aſſemblies continually, either at *Madrid*, or at *Valencia*, to find out ways to bring his *Moriſco* Subjects to be true Chriſtians. In one of thoſe Aſſemblies, after a long and diligent Enquiry into the true Cauſes of this Obſtinacy of the *Moriſcoes*, it was judg'd to flow chiefly from their having never been ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith. The Fryars, who thorow ſeveral Ages had been ſent to preach to them, beſides their having never had Patience to ſtay long enough among them, to inſtruct ſuch vaſt Numbers ſufficiently in a new Religion, were generally ſo angry with the *Moriſcoes*, for not being converted by their firſt or ſecond Sermon, that afterwards they did little elſe than rail at them and

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Mahomet, calling them obstinate Dogs, and *Mahomet* a Devil incarnate. And as to the Vicars, who had the Cure of their Souls, as their Benefices were very small, so they were generally too mean Clerks, to be able to do Christianity so great a Service. For the better Instruction of the *Moriscoes*, the King was therefore desired to supplicate the Pope, to give way to the augmenting of their Vicaridges, and to the building and endowing of new Churches and Chappels among them, out of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of *Valencia*, to the encouraging of Priests, of Learning, Piety, and all other necessary Qualifications, to accept of the *Morisco* Curacies, and to continue and labour in them, to the instructing and edifying of their Souls.

The King approving of this Advice, when it was offered him, rather than that of his Confessor Father *Pedro Fernandez*, (whose Heart the King is said to have broke, because he would not be perswaded by him, that he was bound in Conscience to rid *Spain* of all the *Moriscoes*, since they were never to be made true Christians) did, by his Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*, obtain a *Breve* from *Gregory* XIII. bearing Date the *16th* of *June*, 1576. charging the Rents of the Archbishoprick of *Valencia* with a Yearly Pension of

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of three thouſand and ſix hundred Ducats, and all the other Biſhopricks, and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, with Yearly Penſions in Proportion to their Revenues towards the forementioned pious Uſes.

This *Papal Breve* was ſo far from being of any Advantage to the Converſion of the *Moriſcoes*, that it may juſtly be reckoned among the things that promoted their Expulſion.

The Archbiſhop and other Eccleſiaſticks, whoſe Rents were already charg'd with conſiderable yearly Penſions, towards the defraying of the Charges of inſtructing the *Moriſcoes* in the Chriſtian Faith, being ſo provoked by this new and great Charge, that they did never give over ſolliciting their Princes to rid *Spain* of them, as of incorrigible Hereticks and Apoſtates, on whom all the Means and Charges of Inſtruction were Pains and Money thrown away; repreſenting them as Rebels likewiſe, who had invited the *Moors*, *Turks*, *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, to invade *Spain*, by Promiſes of aſſiſting them to conquer it; and by aſſuring them, that it might be done with a great deal of Eaſe, *Spain* having neither Men nor Money to defend her.

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The Archbishop, that his having denyd to pay this new Pension (which, as we shall see hereafter, was never paid by him, nor by any of his Clergy) might not be thought to flow from his Covetousness, or from his Want of Zeal to convert such a Multitude of Infidels within his Province to the Christian Faith, did at this time give out, That he would prefer no Clerk to the Benefices in his Gift, but from the *Morisco* Vicaridges; and that they who went among the *Moriscoes*, and did take the most pains to instruct them, should be considered by him above all others. And whereas by the Laws of *Valencia*, none that were not Natives, were capable of enjoying any Benefice in it with Cure of Souls, that Law was dispens'd with as to all the *Morisco* Vicaridges, and Priests of any Nation were made capable of holding them. We do not read of the *Morisco* Vicaridges having been filled with better or abler Clerks upon this Promise of the Archbishop's, as it is probable they would, had their Rents been considerably augmented, as the King would have had them; neither do we read of any Priests coming from the other Kingdoms of *Spain*, upon their having been made capable of enjoying the poor *Morisco* Vicaridges in *Valencia*: So that as to their Religion,

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ligion, the *Moriſcoes* of that Kingdom continued in much the ſame State until the Year 1596; when the King having been inform'd, that to pardon the *Moriſcoes* all their paſt Apoſtacies, was the moſt likely way to make them true Chriſtians for the future, he obtained the following Edict of Grace of the *Pope*, for that purpoſe.

An EDICT of Grace.

To our Venerable Brethren, the Archbiſhop of *Valencia*, the Biſhops of *Tortoſa*, *Segorve*, and *Origuela*, Pope *Clement* VIIIth, Health, and Apoſtolical Benediction.

OUR *moſt dear Son in Chriſt*, Philip, *the* Catholick *King of* Spain, *having propoſed to us, That treading in the Footſteps of his Father*, Charles *the* Vth, *of Glorious Memory, he has with the Authority of the* Chief Pontiffs, *our Predeceſſors, laboured to have the* Moriſcoes *of* Valencia, *and other new Converts to* Chriſtianity, *fully inſtructed in the* Catholick Faith, *and that he has been aſſured by grave and honeſt Men, of the ſaid* Moriſcoes *continuing ſtill* Maho-

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metans; *He does therefore humbly supplicate us, to administer such Remedies as are most proper for the thorow Conversion of the said* Moriscoes, *or new* Converts; *In answer whereto, we, according to our Pastoral Office, and Apostolical Authority, have not been wanting to administer such Remedies as we could.*

But whereas during the time wherein those People are to be instructed; or during the time or times of Grace, concerning which Edicts will be published, the said Moriscoes, *or new Converts may, and we trust in God's Mercy, will frequent the Church; or, will at least, at the time the Church hath appointed, go to the most healthful and necessary Sacrament of Penance, and may, peradventure confess in the Court of Conscience, divers Sins, Transgressions, Sacrileges, and other Crimes, as also Heresies, Errors, and Apostacy from the Faith, and the having observed the Rites and Ceremonies of the* Mahometan *Sect, or of the Law of* Moses: *Wherefore, that sufficient Authority may not be wanting, to absolve those in the Court of Conscience who have been guilty of the said or the like Sins; We, who have nothing so much in our Thoughts, as the Reduction of straying Sheep to the Fold of our Lord, and earnestly desiring the aforesaid true, sincere, and perfect Conversion of the said* Moriscoes, *or new Converts, and the Removal*

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moval of all the Impediments which may any ways hinder or retard the ſame, confiding in the Prudence, Piety, and Zeal for the Holy Catholick Faith, which are in every one of you, do grant Faculty, Authority, and Power, to all, and every one of you, (but within your own Dioceſes and Juriſdictions only) to name and depute ſome Pious, Prudent and Holy Prieſts, who are Doctors of Divinity, or Doctors of Canon Law, or Preachers of the Word of God; or others, who are by their Learning, Lives, and Prudence, qualified and appointed to hear the Confeſſions of the Faithful, whether Seculars or Regulars of whatſoever Order, and as many as you ſhall judge to be neceſſary to hear the Confeſſions of the ſaid Moriſcoes *or new Converts, and of all ſuch as have relieved and encouraged them, and to abſolve all ſuch only in the Court of Conſcience from all Hereſies or Errors, or Apoſtacies from the* Chriſtian Faith, *tho often repeated, and notwithſtanding they have been abjured in Judgment, and of all other ſuch Sins, Exceſſes, and Crimes, and of all that have been occaſioned by them, and for having read, and retained the Books of the* Mahometan *Sect, or which are otherwiſe prohibited; and alſo of Hereticks who are involved in Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and from the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures of the Excommunication, Suſpenſion, and Interdict pronounced* de jure,

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or ab homine, *or on any Occasion or Cause, or in the other Cases, which are any ways reserved to us, and the Apostolical See, those which are read every Year, on the Day of* Cœna Domini *not excepted, and notwithstanding they may have often committed the same, and have often relapsed; provided that they do not know of their being accused thereof in Judgment, or have not been condemned as Hereticks and Apostates; but shall, during the time or times of their Instruction, or of this Grace, appear voluntarily before the Inquisitors, that they may provide faithful Medicines for them; on condition, that during the said time of Instruction, or times of Grace, they do with a sincere Heart, and true Faith, confess themselves, and humbly desire and receive Penance; and do anathematize and abjure their Apostacy from the Faith, and their said Heresies and Errors, humbly begging to be admitted into the Bosom of holy Mother Church, and promising, with the usual Oath, for the future, to abstain from the like Apostacies, Heresies and Errors; there being imposed on every one of them at the pleasure of the said Confessors, healthful Penances, according to the Quality of their Faults and Excesses, being such as shall be judged to be proper for the Medicine and Health of their Souls, provided they be not pecuniary.*

By the Tenor of these Presents, and with our Apostolical Authority, we do grant and con-

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confirm, that they may abſolve, reconcile and admit into the Boſom of Holy Mother Church, for the ſpace of four Years only, all Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Privileges, Indults, and the Letters which are uſed to be read on the Day of Cœna Domini, *and other Apoſtolical Letters whatſoever; As alſo all Conſtitutions to the Inquiſitors of* Spain, *of what ſort ſoever they are, granted, approved, or renewed, to the contrary notwithſtanding*, &c.

If the Four Years of Grace, granted by this Edict to the *Moriſcoes*, did commence from the Date of the Edict, as it is more than probable they did, above one half of that Term was elapſed, before the *Moriſcoes* could reap any Benefit by it; which they could not do until it was publiſhed in *Valencia*; which we are certain it was not, from the following Letter of *Philip* the IIId. till after the *6th* of *Auguſt*, 1599. Whereas the Edict was dated at *Rome* on the *28th* of *February*, 1597.

Philip *the* IIId's *Letter to the Biſhop of* Valencia.

Reverend Father in Chriſt, and well Beloved Counſellor.

THE Inquiſitor General has ſent me a Subdelegation, which he hath made to the Inquiſitors of his Holineſs's Breve for the

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Edict of Grace, which he will grant to the New Converts of this my Kingdom of Valentia; *in which there is a Clause, that he shall with your Concurrence, and that of the other Prelates in their several Districts, name Commissaries. I have remitted it to him again, with my Letter and Order, that he should communicate with you and the rest of the Prelates, concerning the Nomination of the said Commissaries, and the Publication and Execution of the said* Edict of Grace. *I do desire and charge you to apply your self to this Affair, with that Efficacy and Warmth, which your Office, and the Zeal and Care you have always discovered for so Holy a Work (which is so much for the good of those People, and the Service of our Lord) obligeth you to, which will be well taken of you by me.*

Dated at *Denia*, the 6th of *August*, 1599.

We are not any where told the Reason why the Publication of this Edict of *Grace* was deferred so long, only it appears from this Letter of the King's, that two Years and a half after that Edict was, upon the Supplication of *Philip* II, granted by the Pope; the Inquisitor-General, and the Bishops of *Valencia*, to whom the Nomination

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tion of the Commiſſaries who were to publiſh that Edict was left, had not named 'em, and that at laſt the King was forc'd to interpoſe his Authority, and require them to do it.

What was the Succeſs of this Edict of Grace, and how they who were entruſted with its Execution ſtood affected to the *Moriſcoes*, will plainly appear by the Memorials, which immediately after its Expiration were given in to the King by the Archbiſhop of *Valencia*; the Subſtance of which Memorials I ſhall here ſet down in that Prelate's own Words.

In his firſt Memorial preſented to the King, in *January*, 1602. he begins thus; 'Being compelled by the Love which, 'as a moſt faithful Subject, and humble 'Chaplain, I have for your Majeſty's 'Service, and for the Preſervation and 'Augmentation of your Royal Crown, 'I could not forbear to acquaint your 'Majeſty with my Thoughts of the Affair 'of the *Moriſcoes*; humbly beſeeching 'your Majeſty to receive them with your 'cuſtomary Clemency and Benignity. 'As to the *Moriſcoes* of *Valencia*, we do 'certainly know them to be all *Mahome-* 'tans, and that as far as they are able, 'they do obſerve all the Rites of the *Al-*

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'coran, and do despise all the Laws of 'the *Catholick Church*. For besides all the 'former Evidences we had of this, they 'have now given us a fresh Evidence of 'it, since the *Edict of Grace* was publi-'shed among them; in that we have not 'been able to perswade one of that Race 'to make use of it. For I did plainly di-'scover by the Conferences I my self had 'with their chief Men, that they are all 'in Correspondence one with another, 'and did all speak, as it were, with the 'same Mouth; the Answer they univer-'sally gave us, being, *'That they were true 'Christians, and did intend to continue so: 'That they had learnt the* Christian Do-'ctrine, *or* Catechism, *when they were 'Children, and did send their Children to 'learn it: That they confessed themselves to 'their Curates, and had never concealed a-'ny of their Sins in Confession: That they 'knew of none that lived in the* Mahometan *'Sect, and were not at leisure to pry into 'Peoples Conversations, or into what they did 'in their Families.* And when upon having 'received these Answers from them, I 'have convicted them of having lied to 'me, they did then either remain silent, 'or did repeat the same Answers again. 'The *Mahometan* Fast, which hapned to 'be at that very time, was kept by them

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'with greater Strictneſs than they had 'ever obſerv'd it before; as were alſo all 'the other Rites and Solemnities of that 'Sect. This is a true Account of what 'paſſed in my Biſhoprick; in which only '6 Women gave any ſign of being reduced; 'and them we had no great reaſon to truſt 'neither, Experience having taught us, 'that when they are at any time diſcon-'tented with their Parents, or Husbands, 'they will then, in a Paſſion, pretend to 'turn Chriſtians, but without having ever 'ſeriouſly intended to do it; and I have 'been ſo often deceived by them, that I 'am come now not to truſt them, unleſs 'they do give me very good Pledges of 'their Sincerity, which few of them care 'to give; and when urged to it, do com-'monly diſcover their Hypocriſy. He 'goeth on;

'If *Spain* was formerly loſt in the time 'of King *Rodrigo*, by one ſingle Perſon's 'going over to the *Moors*, in how great 'Danger muſt *Spain* be now, when it 'appears from the Liſts that were taken 'in the late King's Reign, that there 'were 90000 *Moriſcoes* in this Kingdom, 'that were able to bear Arms; who 'having been all born and bred among 'us, are perfectly acquainted with our 'whole Coaſts and Country; and who

'being

'being all extremely desirous of living 'under a Government which will allow 'them Liberty of Conscience, and being 'withal unwilling to leave *Spain*, because 'of its Fertility, are always prepared to 'serve any Tyrant, that will but suffer 'them to enjoy the free Exercise of their 'Religion? So that *Spain* by having such 'People in it, is not only in Danger from 'the *Barbary Moors* and *Turks*, but from 'the *English* also, and from all the other 'Enemies of the Catholick Religion, and 'the Crown of *Spain*; and especially at 'this time, when the Sect of the Politici-'ans prevails so much, who do permit 'Subjects to choose their own Religion. 'Consider therefore now, that the Crown 'of *Spain* is so generally hated on the ac-'count of its Zeal for the Catholick Reli-'gion, and out of Emulation at its Pro-'sperity, whether it is not possible that 'an Enemy should be encouraged to in-'vade us, by having so many among us, 'to join with him, and them such, who be-'ing (as they reckon) provoked and 'wronged by us, will fight furiously a-'gainst us for their Estate and Religion. 'All this, saith he, is so manifest, that 'we can never wonder enough, that such 'wise and valiant Kings, as *Charles* V. 'and *Philip* II. who had such zealous

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'and experienced Counſellors, have de-
'ferred the remedying of ſo great an E-
'vil. In a ſecond Memorial, which he delivered to the King, within a Month after the former, he tells the King, 'That 'the Remedy for great Evils, Spiritual or 'Temporal, was to pluck them up by 'the Roots at once. This Doctrine, ſaith 'he, is taught by the Holy Scriptures, in 'which there is nothing ſo often repeated, 'and ſo much inculcated, and particularly on Kings, (who ought to be the Miniſters and Executioners of God's Will) as 'to look after the Good and Peace of their 'Subjects. So the firſt Rulers that were 'appointed of God, were commanded by 'him to maintain their Subjects in Peace, 'and to deſtroy all the Cities of their E-'nemies, and all the Inhabitants thereof. 'The firſt King of *Iſrael* was likewiſe com-'manded to deſtroy the *Amalekites*, and 'to ſpare the Life of neither Man, Wo-'man, nor ſucking Child; which he ha-'ving forborn to do, he fell under the 'Wrath of God for it, and was deprived 'of his Kingdom. The ſecond King, who 'was *David*, was commanded to deſtroy 'the *Philiſtines*, which he did. From 'which Examples it is manifeſt, that your 'Majeſty, as King, and ſupreme Lord, is 'bound in Conſcience to defend and pre-

'ſerve

'ſerve your Kingdoms, which you can-
'not do, if you do not baniſh all the *Mo-*
'*riſcoes*, Men, Women, and Children,
'out of them; only the Children, Male,
'and Female, that are under ſeven Years
'of Age, may be detain'd, and diſperſed
'among the old Chriſtians. And it is the
'Opinion of Learned Men, that your Ma-
'jeſty may lawfully make all thoſe Chil-
'dren Slaves; neither would your Maje-
'ſty in baniſhing all the *Moriſcoes* out of
'*Spain*, do a thing that was never done
'before by any of your Anceſtors; your
'Majeſty's Catholick Anceſtors having in
'the Year 1592. expelled all the *Jews* out
'of *Spain*, to the Number of four and
'twenty thouſand Families.

'Your Majeſty's Grand-father, *Charles*
'V. did likewiſe command all the *Moriſ-*
'*coes* to depart out of theſe Kingdoms, if
'they would not be baptized; that Em-
'peror hoping, that by having baptized
'them, they would, of Enemies, become
'our Friends; which they were ſo far
'from, that they became more our Ene-
'mies than they had been before; ſo that
'we have all great cauſe to lament its ha-
'ving ever been done. Neither will your
'Majeſty, in expelling all the *Moriſcoes*,
'do any more than our Chronicles tell us
'hath been done anciently in *Spain*. King

'*Si-*

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'*Siſebut*, in the Year 614, commanded all 'the *Jews* in *Spain* to be baptized, upon 'Pain of perpetual Baniſhment; and up- 'on thoſe *Jews* having afterwards apoſta- 'tiz'd, King *Egyra* made complaint there- 'of to the Council of *Toledo*; which de- 'creed, that the Eſtates of all thoſe Apo- 'ſtates were forfeited to the King; and 'the ſaid Council of *Toledo* did praiſe God, 'and King *Cinthilana*, for the Reſolution 'he had taken, of not ſuffering any that 'were not *Catholicks*, to live in *Spain*.

'All this I lay at your Majeſty's Feet, 'having been moved to trouble you with 'it, for the Promotion of God's and your 'Majeſty's Service, and to acquaint you 'with the iminent danger *Spain* is in. Where- 'fore, as your Majeſty's moſt faithful Sub- 'ject and Chaplain, I do humbly ſuppli- 'cate you, to lay this Affair of the *Moriſ- 'coes* before your Council, as the weigh- 'tieſt of your whole Government, and 'that the Reſolution which ſhall be taken 'may be ſpeedily executed: For the *Mo- 'riſcoes* do encreaſe in Number daily, and 'we do decreaſe; ſo that in a few Years 'they will be more in Number than the 'old *Chriſtians*; for at the ſame time that 'there are abundance of Towns in old 'Caſtile, and *Andaluſia* quite depopulated 'and ruined, the Towns of the *Moriſcoes*

'are

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'are flourishing, and full of People; so 'that your Majesty, in expelling all the '*Moriscoes*, will do a thing worthy of 'your self, and that will give you the 'Honour of having conquer'd *Spain* a se-'cond time.

And in a third Memorial, deliver'd to the King by the same Archbishop a few Weeks after, he declared, that tho at the Writing of that he was 72 Years old, he was afraid, that if his Majesty did not drive all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain* quickly, that he might live to see it ruined a second time by the *Moors*.

But the Archbishop was not satisfied with having thus vehemently sollicited the King to expel all the *Moriscoes*, but he did farther take upon him to direct the King how it might be executed; telling him in a Paper he put into his Hands presently after the former Memorials;

'That after having thought much on 'the Affair of the *Moriscoes*, and recom-'mended it to God, and consulted the 'Scriptures, and divers grave and learned 'Men about it; What he had to offer to 'his Majesty, was, That his Majesty should 'command an Information of all Heresies 'and Apostacies to be taken by the Bishops 'and Curates of all the Cities and Towns 'wherein any *Moriscoes* lived, who must

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be examined whether they do go to Confeſſion, and do communicate, and whether they do eat Swine's Fleſh, and drink Wine, and it may be enquired whether they do not very much encreaſe and multiply, and have not an Abhorrence for *Chriſtians*, and an Affection for *Mahometans*, and are not diſpoſed to joyn with any Prince that will allow them the Liberty of their Conſciences. And if upon ſuch an Information's being taken, the *Moriſcoes* ſhould be found guilty, as they certainly will, they may thereupon be condemned to loſe all their Goods, and to perpetual Baniſhment out of the Kingdom, within a preſix'd Term, which ought to be but ſhort.

And tho it is true, (he goes on) that thorough the Notoriety of their Guilt, the taking of ſuch an Information is not in the Rigor of Juſtice neceſſary, nevertheleſs, ſince the taking of it will tend to the Juſtification of your Majeſty's proceeding with the *Moriſcoes*, it is convenient that it ſhould be taken; neither will any then be able to condemn the foreſaid Sentence, which will be agreeable both to the Canon and Civil Law; according to which, in this Caſe, the Confiſcation of their Goods, and their Baniſhment, will be Graces, and not

'Rigors; since upon being convicted of 'Heresies, and not only so, but of being 'Dogmatists in Heresy, in breeding up 'their Children in the *Mahometan Sect*, 'they might justly have been punished 'capitally. Neither can it be pretended, 'that there is any Injustice in condemning 'the *Moriscoes* thus, without hearing what 'they have to say in their own Defence, 'since the Evidence and Notoriety both of 'the Fact and the Law does supply that 'Defect; and would supply it abundant-'ly, though they were to be punished ca-'pitally; it being most certain, that a 'Prince, when both the Crime, and the 'Necessity of punishing it are notorious, 'may omit all Judicial Forms, and espe-'cially when they cannot be safely obser-'ved, as they cannot in this Case; in 'which to prevent publick Disturbances, 'it is necessary, that the Sentence and its 'Execution should go together. And 'though it may not seem to be so proper 'for one of my Profession, as for your Ma-'jesty's Council of State, who must have 'the Example of the Expulsion of the *Jews* 'before them, to give Directions about 'the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, I shall 'nevertheless humbly offer my Thoughts 'to your Majesty concerning it: Which 'are, That it must not be attempted with-

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'out having a good Army and Fleet in 'readineſs, to prevent Inſurrections. And 'I have always reckoned your Majeſty's 'unproſperous Attempt upon *Algiers*, to 'have been a particular Providence of God, 'graciouſly diſpoſing things for your Ma'jeſty's Advantage. Now that Loſs will 'ſerve for a Blind for your Majeſty's Pre'paration by Sea and Land, to expel all 'the *Moriſcoes*; the World being of Opi'nion, that that Attempt upon *Algiers* 'having been your Majeſty's firſt Enter'prize, you will not ſit down with that 'Loſs. Your Majeſty may, if you pleaſe, 'take four thouſand of the ſtouteſt young 'Men among the *Moriſcoes*, and under a 'Pretence of employing them in your Ser'vice, ſend them to your Gallies, as *Her'aclius* the Emperor did with the *Sara'cens*: You may alſo ſend ſome Thou'ſands of them to your Mines in the *Indies*, 'and ſo go on conſuming them, and preſer'ving your old Chriſtian Subjects.

'And though it is ſufficient to engage 'your Majeſty to rid *Spain* of all the *Mo'riſcoes*; only to let you know that you 'are bound in Conſcience, and under the 'pain of a mortal Sin, to do it; never'theleſs, ſince the expelling of them will be 'attended with great Advantages, both 'Spiritual and Temporal, I cannot for-

bear laying some of them before your Majesty.

1. *The* Prelates *and* Curates *will thereby be freed from the Scruples they are under; and which if they understand any thing of Divinity, they cannot but have, about baptizing those who they know will be Apostates.*

2. *Your Majesty, by selling all the Children of the* Moriscoes *that are under seven Years old, who are reckoned to be above five and thirty thousand, will both receive a good Sum of Money, and will gain a great many Subjects, who being sold to old Christians, will all become Catholicks; and having lost the Language, Habit, and Ceremonies of the* Mahometans, *will learn and observe those of our Faith.*

3. *Your Majesty may either send the strongest Men among them to your own Gallies, or sell them to old Christians, among whom they cannot use the* Mahometan *Ceremonies, without being observed, but a special Care must be taken, not to suffer any of the* Morisco *Men or Women to remain in* Spain; *because that will be of ill Consequence to the* Morisco *Children, which are to be bred up in it, in the* Christian *Faith.*

On this Occasion, saith he, *I will repeat what I have often affirmed; which is, That your Majesty may without any scruple of Conscience,*

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ſcience, make Slaves of all the Moriſcoes, *and may either put them into your own Gallies or Mines, or ſell them to Strangers; and whereas their Number is very great, you may, after you have ſupply'd your own Gallies and Mines, ſell the reſt of them in* Italy: *And as to their Children, they may be all ſold at good Rates here in* Spain; *which will be ſo far from being a Puniſhment, that it will be a Mercy to them, ſince by that means they will all become Chriſtians; which they would never have been, had they continued with their Parents: By the holy Execution of which Piece of Juſtice, a great Sum of Money will flow into your Majeſty's Treaſury.*

Laſtly, *The* Moriſcoes *being a laborious and induſtrious People, do, by working cheaper than the* Spaniards *are able to work, eat the Bread out of the* Spaniards *Mouths; and being alſo very frugal and temperate, they do contribute very little to the publick Exciſes.*

The Archbiſhop, when he was reckoning up the Profits which would accrue to the *Spaniards* by the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, might, if he had pleaſed, have mentioned the great Revenue that would return thereby to his own Archbiſhoprick, which had for a great many Years been charged with a conſiderable Penſion, towards the Maintenance of the *Moriſco*

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Schools and Curacies; and which in the Year 1597, had by a *Breve* from the *Pope* been charged with a new yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats towards the same pious Uses: Upon which last Pension, not having been paid, the Archbishop at the same time he gave in these Memorials, was commanded by a second *Breve* from the same *Pope*, to pay the Arrear of the said Pension, which amounted to fourteen thousand and four hundred *Ducats*, towards the building of a College in the City of *Valencia*, for the instructing of *Morisco* Girls in the *Christian Faith*: To which new Foundation, that the Archbishop was no great Friend, appears not only from his having never paid the said Arrear towards the Building, but also from his having left out of the Copy of the *Papal Breve*, which was printed in *Spanish* at *Valencia*, all that was said in it of the ancient *Morisco* College, having been of great Advantage to those People; *Which*, he said, *was false*; *and that his Holiness had been misinform'd by those that had told him so*; *the* Moriscoes *who had been bred in that College*, *having turn'd afterwards as much* Mahometans *as they could have been*, *had they never seen it.*

While the Archbishop was labouring thus to perswade the King to rid *Spain* of the

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the *Moriſcos*, the Barons of *Valentia* having been inform'd thereof, did unanimouſly and paſſionately remonſtrate againſt it, as the greateſt Blow that could poſſibly be given to that Kingdom; whoſe Lands, they ſaid, muſt lie untilled, and all its rich Manufactures muſt come to nothing, if the *Moriſcos* were turned out of it; by whom chiefly all thoſe Works were carried on: And having been acquainted with the Arguments that had been uſed by the Archbiſhop to perſwade the King to it, they repreſented that of *Spain*'s being in great Danger, by reaſon of its having ſo many *Moriſcoes* in it, to be a meer Chimera or Dream; which when it had been formerly objected, had always been ſlighted as ſuch by his Majeſty's wiſe Anceſtors, who were never governed by the Whimſies and Speculations of ſedentary and unexperienced People, though never ſo holy and learned; challenging the Archbiſhop, and all others that accuſed the *Moriſcoes* of holding Intelligence with the King's Enemies, to convict them of that Treaſon upon a fair legal Tryal, that they might be juſtly puniſhed for it; which they could not be, barely upon a vehement Declamation of their being all guilty of Treaſon.

And as to the Argument, That the *Moriſcoes* were all *Mahometans*; the Barons

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answered, That they did not believe that they were all so; or if they were, to send them all into *Barbary* would be no good way to convert them to the *Christian Faith*; adding farther, That if the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*, their being so was owing chiefly to their Ignorance of the *Christian Faith*; and to the Rigors and Violences wherewith they had been treated, which had made them hate both Christians and their Religion; and which had hindred them, after they were forced to be baptized, from communicating their Doubts and Scruples to those who might have removed them.

They did therefore beseech his Majesty, not to suffer such severe and rigorous Methods to be used with them any longer, but to plant Preachers among them, who would by tender and gentle Methods insinuate themselves into their Affections; and after that was once done, the converting of them to Christianity, they said, would be found to be no hard Work: Giving the four following Reasons why this Course, which they affirmed had never yet been tried with the *Moriscoes*, ought to be taken.

First, Because the *Moriscoes*, by having been baptized by Force, and as it were, dragg'd into the Church by the Hair of the Head,

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Head, were so prejudic'd against *Christians*, on the account of that and other consequent Violences which they had used with them, that until that Prejudice was removed, it would not be found possible to reconcile them to *Christianity*; it being natural for all People not to have any Regard to the Words of those they hate, and do reckon to be their Enemies: Therefore all that are sent to preach to the *Moriscoes*, ought to treat them with the same tender Affection wherewith St. *Paul* treated the *Galatians*, after they had apostatiz'd from the Faith which he had taught them.

Secondly, The *Moriscoes* being a rude and ignorant People, ought for that reason to be treated with the more Mildness, by those that endeavour'd to convert them to the *Faith*: So *John* the *Baptist* did not treat the Soldiers that came to hear him, with the same Severity he treated the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; neither did our Lord treat the *Gentiles* and *Samaritans* so rigorously as he did the *Jews*: But commanded his Disciples to go among the *Gentiles* as *Sheep* among the *Wolves*, that they might gain their Hearts by their mild and innocent Behaviour: Wherefore, in order to the reconciling of the *Moriscoes* to the Persons of *Christians*, they desir'd that two things might be done.

1. That the *Moriscos* might be comforted and encouraged, by being assured, that the Misery they were under at present for being *New Christians*, would be taken away when ever they did turn *True Christians*, and that notwithstanding they were the last that had come into the Lord's Vineyard, they might so demean themselves therein, as to have an equal Reward with those who had been in the Vineyard before 'em.

2. That such of the *Moriscos* as were believed to be *True Christians*, might have Offices and Honours conferred on them, and might enjoy all the same Privileges and Immunities which are enjoyed by *Old Christians*.

3. That since the Mysteries of the *Christian Faith* were things of such a Nature, as could not be believed without a pious Affection in the Will, enclining the Understanding to the belief of them; therefore in order to the converting of the *Moriscos* to the *Christian Faith*; such Methods ought to be used as are proper for the begetting of such a necessary and pious Affection in their Wills; which it was certain, could never be done by Force or Violence, the Will being a Faculty that cannot be forc'd: So that tho Force both might, and ought to be used in such Cases, for the removing of all outward Impediments to People em-

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embracing of the Faith, it ought not to be uſed to force the Will; or if it were, it was to no purpoſe, for they could not be conſtrained by it to forſake a Religion wherein they believed their Forefathers had been ſaved, to embrace another Religion, the Evidences of whoſe Credibility, they, through the Lowneſs of their Capacities, were not able to underſtand.

Laſtly, That the *Moriſcoes* being all but young Chriſtians in the *Faith*, ought to be cheriſhed and handled tenderly; and all that are employ'd in the converting of them, ought, like skilful Phyſicians, not to conſider only the Malignity of their Diſtemper, but the Strength alſo of their Patients, and not to adminiſter Medicines to them which are ſtronger than they can bear.

And whereas the *Moriſcoes* were accuſed of giving Intelligence to the *Mooriſh* Pirates, where they might come a-ſhore, and meet with a good Booty, the *Barons* did, in the Name of the *Moriſcoes*, offer to redeem all the Captives, which ſhould at any time be carry'd off the Land of *Valencia*, by any of the *Mooriſh* Pirates, at the Coſt of the *Moriſcoes*.

By theſe Remonſtrances of the *Barons*, made in a *Cortes*, in the Year 1604, the King ſeem'd to be determin'd not to expel the *Moriſcoes*, but to go on, endeavouring to

to make them all *True Christians*; and in order thereunto, so soon as the *Cortes* was over, he dispatched *Don Francisco de Quesada* to *Rome*, with an Honourable Salary, to negotiate the Affair of their Conversion with the Pope, who at that time was *Paul* V. and from whom *Quesada* procur'd a *Breve*, commanding the forementioned *Morisco* College to be Built, and Endowed, and the *Moriscoe* Curacies to be made an hundred Pounds a-piece yearly, to encourage Men of Learning and Probity to supply them. But this *Breve* of *Paul* V. had the same ill Success with the two former *Breves* of his Predecessor, which had commanded the same Endowments and Augmentations to be made.

The repeated Disobedience to so many *Papal Breves*, is enough to encline one to suspect, that the Popes, by whom those *Breves* were granted, tho they did not know well how to deny them to the Kings when they supplicated to have them, yet were not very zealous to have them executed; because, if they had, they would never have endured to have had their Authority baffled thus, and especially in so great and tender a Point as this of their having a Right to apply all the Ecclesiastical Revenues, as they shall judge to be most for the Interest of the whole Church; and in

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in Deſe too wherein their Authority in ſuch an Application, was backed by the King's. But whether the Popes, by whom all theſe ineffectual *Breves* were granted, were thus ſecretly minded or not, it is certain theſe *Breves* were entertained by the Archbiſhop, as if he had known them certainly to have ſtood ſo affected as to their Execution. And He therefore, inſtead of advancing the Arrear due on the Account of the laſt Penſion wherewith his Biſhoprick had been charged, gave a Memorial to the King, wherein he pretended to reply to all the Anſwers which had been given by the *Barons* to his Arguments for the Expelling of the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*.

1. To the *Barons* having Challenged thoſe that accuſed the *Moriſcoes* of holding a Correſpondence with the King's Enemies; to convict them of that Treaſonable Practice by a Legal Tryal, that they might be juſtly puniſhed for it; the Archbiſhop reply'd, that in a caſe wherein both the Law and the Fact were ſo notorious, there was no need of obſerving the common Forms of Law and Juſtice; the *Moriſcoes* Guilt in this caſe being Notorious, not only to his Majeſty, but to all the *Old Chriſtians* in *Spain*, who could not but obſerve the great Joy that was among the *Moriſcoes*, when they heard of the *Turks*, or the *Moors* having

ving obtained any Victories over the *Christians*, and particularly the *Spaniards*, and how that Treasonable Joy of theirs had never appeared so barefac'd, and so impudently, as on the occasion of his Majesty's late general Loss in his Attempt upon *Algiers*.

2. To the *Barons* having said, that the *Moriscos* being young Plants in the *Faith*, ought for that reason to be tenderly handled and cherished; he reply'd, That the *Moriscos* were not young Plants, but old barren Trees, that were full of Knots of Heresy and Treasons; the youngest of them having been planted in the Faith above fourscore Years; And that those about *Toledo* and *Valedolid* had been planted in it ever since those Countries were taken from the *Moors*; and notwithstanding that they were as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts, as the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia*.

3. To the Barons having affirmed, That the *Moriscos* had never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Religion; he reply'd, That if their meaning was, that they were not sufficiently instructed in the Doctrines of Christianity, because they would not learn them, that was very true; but if they meant, that they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it was a great Mistake in them: And supposing it might be

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be truly affirmed of some of the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, That they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it could not be so affirmed of them all; or if it could of all the *Valencian Moriscoes*, it could not of those of *Aragon* and *Castile*, who, for all that, were known to be in their Hearts as much *Mahometans*, as if they had been born, and had liv'd all their Days in *Tunis*: And for the truth of this, the Archbishop made his Appeal to the Inquisitors, who were ready to testify, That the *Moriscoes*, after having been for two or three Years daily instructed by them in the Doctrine of Christianity, did remain as ignorant of those Doctrines, as they were the first day they were taken up and imprisoned by them.

4. To the Barons having said, That no other than severe and rigorous Methods had ever been used with the *Moriscoes*, to reconcile them to the Christian Faith; he reply'd, That was most false, and was demonstrated to be so by the late Edict of Grace, which had been granted to them to no purpose at all: Affirming further, That the Antipathy which was visible in all the *Moriscoes*, both for the Persons, and Religion of Christians, was too strong and too deeply rooted in their Hearts ever to be overcome by any good Offices.

Lastly,

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Lastly, To the Baron's having said, That to banish the *Moriscoes* into *Barbary*, was the way to make them all infallibly *Mahometans*: The Archbishop reply'd, That if the *Moriscoes* were not *Mahometans* already, tho they should be all banished out of *Spain*, yet they needed not to go over to *Barbary*, but they might go into some other Christian Countries, as the *Spaniards* did that were banished: Whereas, if they were all already *Mahometans* in their Hearts, which they certainly were, it was much better that they should be so at *Tunis*, where their Example could do no hurt; than that they should be so in *Spain*, where it did much Mischief; some Christians, and of Noble Families, having been lately perverted by their bad Example.

The Archbishop was seconded in these his Instances, by the Bishop of *Origuela*, one of his Suffragans, who exhorted the King to destroy all the *Moriscoes*, as followeth.

'As it is notorious that the *Moriscoes* did 'never embrace the Christian Religion with 'their Hearts, so the great danger we old 'Christians are all in, by our having such 'vast Numbers of those Infidels among 'us; and the Treasons they are continu-'ally plotting against us, and the Rancor 'and

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'and Hatred wherewith they do abominate 'both us and our Religion, and the Affe-'ction they have for the *Moors* of *Africk*, 'and their great Diligence to diſcover all 'our Secrets, that they may communicate 'them to the Enemies of the Chriſtian Com-'monwealth, ought to alarm a Chriſtian 'Prince, ſo as not to delay to ſecure *Spain* 'againſt ſuch Domeſtick Enemies. It being 'much better and ſurer, as Cardinal *Torque-'meda* obſerved, for us to deſtroy the *Mo-'riſcoes*, than to continue doubtful and ſcru-'pulous whether we may lawfully do it or 'not, until we are deſtroyed by them.

But the great Trumpeter to the Expulſi-on, was one *James Bleda*, a *Dominican Fryar*, who for ſeveral Years was continually foot-ing it betwixt the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, to excite the King and the Pope to turn all the *Moriſcoes* out of *Spain*, or to de-ſtroy them all in it; And as this hot-headed Fryar did call all the Eccleſiaſticks that did not bark againſt the *Moriſcoes* as loud as he had done, *Dumb Dogs*; ſo he did aſſure all the old Chriſtian Laity, that whenever the King ſhould give the word, they might without any Scruple of Conſcience, cut the Throats of all the *Moriſcoes*, and not ſpare any of them upon their profeſſing them-ſelves Chriſtians, but follow the holy and

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laudable Example of the *Croisado* that was raised against the *Albigenses*; who upon their having made themselves Masters of the City of *Bezair*, wherein were two hundred thousand *Catholicks* and *Hereticks*, did ask Father *Arnold*, a *Cistercian Monk*, who was their chief Preacher, *Whether they should put any to the Sword that pretended to be Catholicks?* And were answered by the holy *Abbot*, *That they should kill all without Distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next World*; which was accordingly executed.

The same Advice with this of *Abbot Arnold*, was given to the *Irish Papists* by *Con à Mahony*, an *Irish Jesuit*, in a Book printed by him at *Lisbon*, but which pretended to be printed at *Frankford*, in the Year 1645; in which Book we meet with the following *Exhortation* to his Country-men, to cut the Throats of all the *Protestants* in *Ireland*.

My Dear Irish, *go on, and perfect the work of your Liberty and Defence, which is so happily begun by you, and kill all the Hereticks, and all that do assist and defend them. You have in the space of four or five Years (that is, betwixt the Year* 1641, *and the Year* 1645.) *wherein I write this, killed an hundred and fifty thousand Hereticks, as your Enemies do acknowledge; neither*

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neither do you deny it. And for my own part, as I do verily believe that you have killed more of them, so I would to God you had killed them all; which you must either do, or drive them all out of Ireland, *that our Holy Land may be plagued no longer with such a light, changeable, inconstant, barbarous, ignorant and lawless Generation of People.* Neither was this *Jesuite* one jot more merciful to the King than he was to his Protestant Subjects; concerning whom he saith in the same Exhortation: *We Catholick* Irish, *will not, nor never would, neither ought we, to suffer our Country to be ruled by a proud King, who calls himself the Head of the Church: Let us therefore chuse a Catholick King from among our own Brethren, and let us have* Irish *Catholick Judges and Magistrates to rule us in all Matters Temporal, and the Pope in all Matters Spiritual.*

But to return to the *Moriscoes*:

The most Powerful Promoter of their Expulsion, was *Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval*, Cardinal, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor-General, and Chancellor of *Spain*. This great Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of *Lerma*, by whom the King, for some years before, and for some years after the Expulsion was absolutely Governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the *Moriscoes* extinguished, that he oppo-

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ſed the detaining of their Children that were under ſeven years of Age; affirming, that of the two, he judged it more adviſable to cut the Throats of all the *Moriſcoes*, Men, Women, and Children, than to have any of their Children left in *Spain*, to defile the true *Spaniſh* Blood, with a mixture of the Mooriſh. And as it muſt be ſomething more than ordinary that did carry a Prelate to *Rome* that was in ſuch high Poſts and Offices in *Spain*, and who had been a Cardinal for ſeveral years, ſo it is more than probable, that the buſineſs that carried this Cardinal Primate to *Rome*, in the Year 1607, was to engage the Pope, after the Example of his Predeceſſors, to promote the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, ſince they were not to be made *Chriſtians*. For, whereas the Pope had, on the King's Supplication to him, diſpatched a particular *Breve* to every Biſhop in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, to aſſemble, and conſult together about the effectual means of Converting the *Moriſcoes* to the *Chriſtian Faith*, thoſe *Breves* which bore Date the 11*th* of *May*, 1606. and which were arrived at *Madrid* ſome Months before the Cardinal Primate began his Journey to *Rome*, were not delivered to the Prelates to whom they were directed before the 15*th* of *April*, in the Year 1608. when the Cardinal Primate

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mate was returned home (as we have reaſon to believe) with new Orders from the Pope, to the ſaid Prelates to Aſſemble together, not to conſult about the moſt proper means of the *Moriſcoes* Inſtruction, according to the forementioned *Breves*, but to give the King a handle for the expelling of them all. And accordingly the *Valencian* Prelates did, after a Conſultation of ſome Months, come to the following Reſolution, which was privately remitted by them to the King.

The Moriſcoes *of the Kingdom of* Valencia *are all certainly* Apoſtates *from the* Chriſtian Faith, *and are withal, ſo Obſtinate and Pertinacious in their Infidelity, that there remains no hopes of ever being able to convert them to it.*

Upon this Reſolution, being now come to Court, the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* was abſolutely determined, tho it was not executed till two years after, neither was its being determined known to any but the Cabinet Council, before the Veſpers of its Execution, when the King had put his Affairs in ſuch a Poſture, as not to fear any Oppoſition that could be made to it by the Barons.

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But though this Impolitick Determination was owing chiefly to the Counsels of the Duke *de Lerma*, and his Brother, the Cardinal Primate; the thing that enclined the King (who was naturally Superstitious and Timorous) to be so tamely led to it by his Ministers, was, the loud and frequent Calls, he was told from all Parts, the Heavens gave him to it, both in Miraculous Signs and Judgments. For on this Occasion all the old Fabulous *Spanish* Prodigies were revived and brought upon the Stage, and were with all other extraordinary Appearances and Events made Calls to, and Prognostications of the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, and all publick Disasters and Plagues, were charged wholly to the account of its having been so long delay'd.

The Archbishop of *Valencia*, who left no Stone unturned to bring about the Expulsion, attack'd the King on this blind side in one of the Memorials he gave unto him.

It is now, saith that Archbishop, more than threescore and twelve years since I first went to study at *Salamanca*; and I do very well remember, that all the Learned and Grave Professors of that University, did at that time blame the Carelesness of our Lord the Emperor, and did all reckon, that God permitted the *Moriscoes* to remain among us,

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us, to puniſh, if not to deſtroy us, for our Sins; and I do farther affirm, that from that day to this, I never heard any Holy, Religious, and Prudent Perſon, or one that was skill'd in the Arts of Peace and War, ſpeak of the *Moriſcoes*, that were not of the ſame Mind concerning them: Nay, ſo univerſal is this Opinion, that upon all new Appearances of Comets in the Heavens, or in the Air, and upon the *Bell* of *Vilila* having rung it ſelf, and upon all publick Loſſes and Diſaſters, either by Sea or Land, all the *Old Chriſtians* do immediately cry out that *Spain* will be deſtroyed for ſuffering ſo many *Moriſcoes* to remain in it. Thus God is pleaſed by the univerſal Voice of his People, to make his Will known to your Majeſty, as he uſeth to do in all ſuch Caſes. The King was told likewiſe of prodigious Thunders and Lightnings, and of Tempeſts, and Earthquakes that had been in ſeveral Parts of *Spain*, and of its having been legible in all of them, that they were Judgments on *Spain* for harbouring ſo many Infidels: And as to the ill Succeſs of the Invincible Armado, which was ſent againſt *England*, in the Year 1588, the King was aſſured of its having been viſibly a Judgment on the *Spaniards* on that very account: For God would never make uſe of the *Spaniards* to reduce Hereticks to the Boſom of

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the Church, so long as they suffered so many *Mahometan Apostates* to live among 'em: And the great Conjunction which was seen in the Heavens on the 24*th* of *December*, 1603. tho it was seen all *Europe* over as well as in *Spain*, was said to have appeared for no other end, but to acquaint the King with God's Intention, to make use of him to destroy the *Mahometan Sect*, with all its great Empires.

I do affirm, saith *Francisco Navarra*, in a Book dedicated to the King, that what can be gathered from the late strange Conjunction in the Heavens, is the Diminution of the *Mahometan* Empire, and the great Declination of that Sect within twenty Years, that is, before the Year 1623, or the Year 1624, at fartheſt, is expired, and that before the Year 1661, that whole Empire will be at an end, and before the Year 1854, or 56, the *Mahometan Sect* will be totally extinguished; neither is the beginning only, of so great a Work, reserved to your Majesty, as the Wisest, and most Valiant of Kings, and the most firm Pillar of the *Faith*, and *Christian Religion*, but the greatest part of it is to be accomplished by you, your Majesty being to conquer vast Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, which at this time is in the hands of the *Mahometans*.

If

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If the King gave as much Credit to this glorious Aſtrological Prediction, as he is ſaid to have done to the blind Story of the Bell at *Vilila* (a Village in *Arragon*) having rung it ſelf for ſeveral Days together, to ring the Knell of the *Moriſcoes*, and to other prodigious Calls to expel them; we need the leſs wonder at his doing it. For ſince the ſecuring the Peace of their own Country, during their Abſence, has been always the firſt Care of all wiſe and great Conquerors, King *Philip* would have ſhew'd himſelf very defective in point of Wiſdom, if intending to go and conquer thoſe vaſt remote *Mahometan* Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, he had left as many *Mahometans* behind him in *Spain*, as there were *Moriſcoes* there.

The Archbiſhop of *Valencia*, after having uſed all the Arts and Arguments that he could deviſe, to perſwade the King to expel the *Moriſcoes*, apply'd himſelf to the Pope, to engage him to promote it: And not being able, by reaſon of his great Age, to go to *Rome* in Perſon to ſolicit it, he writ to the Pope, and ſent his Letter by a particular Envoy of his own, in which Letter he told the Pope as follows.

'It is now, moſt Holy Father, ſeven 'and forty Years ſince I, tho unworthy, 'was by the Grace of God, and the Holy

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'Apostolical See, promoted to the Dignity of a Bishop; two and forty whereof 'I have had the Charge of this Church: 'during all which time, tho I my self in 'Person, and by the Ministery of Learned, 'Religious, and Holy Men, have tried all 'ways possible to reduce the perfidious 'Hereticks, the *Moriscoes*, to the Bosom 'of the Holy Church; yet they have never 'continued any longer in the Faith, than 'from the Day whereon they were baptized, until the time they came to the 'Use of Reason, to which they were no 'sooner arrived, than through the Instruction of their Parents, and of the other 'Ministers of that base Sect, they apostatiz'd from our Holy Religion, and with 'an astonishing Obstinacy embraced the '*Mahometan* Sect, and 'tis now above 'fourscore Years since their Ancestors were 'baptized.

'All of 'em that are now alive have 'been baptized in the time of their Infancy. And there have been ever since that 'time, Parochial Churches erected in 'most of their Villages by your Holiness's 'Predecessors, which have also been plan'ted with Ministers, and Rectors, to in'struct them in the *Christian Doctrine*, 'Yea, and our Lords the Kings have also 'been extremely zealous to procure their

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'Converſion; and in order thereunto, an 'Edict of Grace was granted unto them 'by Pope *Clement* VII. And your Holi-'neſs, out of the pious Zeal God hath 'kindled in your Breaſt, did command me 'and the Biſhops of *Tortoſa*, *Segorve*, and '*Orignela*, with ſeveral other Learned, 'Grave, and Religious Perſons, to meet 'together, to conſult about the moſt effe-'ctual ways of converting them. But 'all this has been to no purpoſe, for at the 'ſame time we were beating our Brains 'how to inſtruct them in the *Faith*, they 'were plotting Treaſons againſt the King 'and his Kingdoms, and againſt *Holy* '*Church*, holding Correſpondence with 'the *Turks*, and the other Enemies of our '*Holy Faith*, Offering to aſſiſt them, and 'giving them Directions how they might 'conquer *Spain*.

But this old indefatigable Archbiſhop, notwithſtanding he was clearly of Opinion, that there was no need at all of obſerving the common Forms of Law and Juſtice, to convict the *Moriſcoes* of the Apoſtacies and Treaſons wherewith he had charged them, both before the King and the Pope; yet being ſenſible, that the Diſperſion of ſo many thouſands of Families as would follow upon the Expulſion, would fill the World with Horror, unleſs it were fully ſa-

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satisfy'd of the *Moriscoes* Treasons; he did therefore advise the King, for his own Justification, to order a General Information to be taken all over *Spain*, of the *Moriscoes* Apostacies and Treasons; which as it might have been done with very little Trouble; so Care was taken by the Archbishop and his Confederates, that it should have answered the End for which it was design'd; For he had the following Articles in Readiness to have exhibited against the *Moriscoes*, if such an Information had been ordered.

I. *That they did all rejoice exceedingly, when they heard of the* Turks *or the* Moors *having had any good Success against the* Spaniards; *and that this their Treasonable Joy did never appear so barefac'd as in the Year* 1601, *when his Majesty's Fleet suffer'd so much before* Algiers.

II. *That there was nothing they commended so much as that* Liberty of Conscience *in all* Matters of Religion, *which is granted by the* Turks *and all* Mahometans, *and some* Christian *Princes to all their Subjects.*

III. *That whenever they thought they could do it with Safety, they did either murther the Old* Christians *that came among them, and especially old* Christian Beggars, *or did keep them in Caves, until they had an Op-*

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Opportunity of ſelling them to the Barbary Moors.

IV. *That the Images of the* Saints, *and the Sacred Reliques, which had by the Order of their* Viſitors *been left in their Houſes, were ſo abhorred by them, that they were found many times in very undecent Places, with their Heads downward, and with Marks of great Contempt upon them.*

V. *When they were forced to go to Church, they did expreſs no manner of Devotion for the* Sacrament, *or the* Images, *or the* Sacred Reliques; *and that a certain* Moriſco, *who had fled to* Algiers, *had told the* Spaniſh *Captives*, that they were much miſtaken, if they believed, that the *Moriſcoes*, when they forced them to go to Maſs, did worſhip the *White Wafer* which was ſhew'd them by the Prieſt; and that inſtead of Worſhipping, they were ſtill making Figos at it with their Fingers, under their Cloaks.

VI. *That when they had a mind to fright their Children, they told them*, That the Chriſtians were coming to carry them away.

VII. *That they were all extremely ſolicitous to provide* Moriſco *Nurſes for all poor* Moriſco *Orphans*; *and when they were grown up, to put them to* Moriſco *Maſters*; *and that this was not done by them out of Charity, but*

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but purely to prevent their being made Christians.

VIII. *That none were so much honoured by them, as the* Moriscoes *that had been whipped publickly by the Inquisition, or had wore the* St. Benito: *And for the Truth of this, an Appeal was made to Father* Lewis Ysla, *the Master of the sacred Palace at* Rome; *who when he was Inquisitor of* Valencia, *having ordered a great Number of* Moriscoes *to be whip'd publickly, one of their Number that had escaped the Rod, deny'd to pay the Executioner his Fee, when he demanded it of him; telling him that he had done nothing for it; and having by that means obtain'd the Honour, as he reckon'd it, of being severely whip'd, he paid the Executioner his Wages very chearfully. And that the same Master of the sacred Palace could testify, that when he was an Inquisitor in* Valencia, *a certain* Morisco *Woman was so far from being asham'd of the* St. Benit, *when it was put upon her, that she desired the Officer to let her have another of them, to make a Child she had at home a Coat.*

IX. *That when any of the* Moriscoes *escaped to* Algiers, *or to any other Ports of* Barbary, *they were more zealous* Mahometans, *and did speak of* Christians, *and their Religion, with more Contempt than the* Moors *themselves did.*

X.

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X. *That besides* Alfaques, *who instructed them in the* Mahometan *Law, they had* Alcaides *among them, who punished all that transgressed it.*

XI. *That they reckoned no Corn grew so well as that which was sown on* Sundays *and* Holydays.

XII. *That they were such Enemies to* Clocks *and* Bells, *that they would not suffer any to be in their Houses.*

XIII. *That they did reckon it a great Sin in a* Morisco, *to accuse any of his Brethren to the Inquisition.*

XIV. *To excuse their not sending for a Priest to administer the* Sacrament *to their dying Friends, they pretended their Friends died suddenly, and before they apprehended them to be in any Danger.*

XV. *That all, or most of them that died by the Hand of Justice, did, when they were brought to the Place of Execution, if not before, declare that they died in the* Mahometan *Faith.*

Lastly, *That they did all send Intelligence to the* Barbary *Pirates.*

These, and a great many more such *Articles* would have been exhibited against the *Moriscoes*, had the King ordered a General Information to have been taken concerning them, as the Archbishop ad-

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adviſed him to do, for the Satisfaction of the World.

But the King and his Council being ſenſible that the Barons, if ſuch an Information were commanded to be taken, would conclude, that it was in order to expel the *Moriſcoes*, they judged it more adviſable to neglect the Cenſure of the World, than ſtruggle with the Oppoſition they knew they ſhould have from the Barons, if they were acquainted with that Deſign before it was executed.

Among theſe *Articles*, one may venture to affirm, That there are ſome that are meer malicious Inventions, having either no ground at all, or only that of common Talk; or at moſt, were the Facts only of ſome particular *Moriſcoes*: But as to the two grand Articles of Treaſon and Apoſtacy, ſo far as I am able to judge, they were innocent of the firſt, as to all actual Treaſon; but were guilty of the laſt.

That the *Moriſcoes* being in their Hearts *Mahometans*, might ſo rejoice, when they heard of the *Spaniards*, or any other Chriſtians being worſted by the *Turks* or *Moors*, as not to be able wholly to conceal their Joy on ſuch Occaſions; and conſidering how cruelly they were uſed by the Inquiſition, that they might wiſh *Spain* under the Government of any Prince,

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Chriſtian or *Mahometan*, that would grant them Liberty of Conſcience, are things ſo natural, that the Teſtimony of their Adverſaries may be ſafely taken for their being true. But as it does by no means follow, that the *Moriſcoes* were therefore actually engaged in any Treaty, either with the *Moors* or *Turks*, or *French*, or *Engliſh*, or *Dutch*; (with all which Nations they were accus'd of having been in Correſpondence, ſo as to invite them by Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, to invade *Spain*) ſo I can ſee no Reaſon to believe, that they were ever any-wiſe concern'd in any ſuch Treaties or Correſpondencies: Of which, and of the Evidences the Court of *Spain* pretended to have of them as to *France*, King *Henry* the IVth of *France*, did in my Opinion paſs a very true Judgment; who having been told by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, of his being in a Correſpondence with the *Moriſcoes*, in order to diſturb the Peace of *Spain*, and of ſome *Moriſcoes* having confeſſed as much at their Death; he made anſwer, *That that whole Buſineſs was an Artifice of the Court of* Spain, *which by the Extremity of Tortures had forced thoſe Confeſſions from the Mouths of ſome unhappy Wretches, executed for other Crimes; or had thruſt them into their forged Wills and Teſtaments; that when they ſhould be found debauch-*

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ing his Subjects to commit Treasons, as it was visible they were doing at that time, they might have matter to recriminate with some Appearance of Truth.

But though this might be one Reason why the Council of *Spain* did either forge such Confessions, or procure them by Tortures, or by Promises of a Pardon to Malefactors for other Crimes; yet considering that this was done when the Duke of *Lerma*, the first Minister, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Toledo*, had set their Hearts extremely on the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, it is more than probable, that the accelerating and justifying of that Expulsion, was the chief Motive to that Artifice; as the *French* King called it; of forging or procuring such Testimonies.

As to the *Moriscoes* being in their Hearts all *Mahometans*, I cannot see any Reason to doubt of the Truth of that. For besides that they who were zealous against their being expelled, did not know well how to deny their being *Mahometans*, when they were charged with it by their Adversaries; the *Moriscoes*, when they saw there was no Remedy, but they must leave *Spain*, were for going no where else but to *Barbary*, where that Religion was profess'd. And thither they all went, who were left to their Liberty to go to what Country they pleased, that was

was subject to the *Roman Church*, and not within the *Spanish* Dominions. And as they did all profess themselves *Mahometans* so soon as ever they were among the *Moors*, so we read of few or none of them that ever fled back to *Spain*, or to any *Spanish* Garrison in *Barbary*; which they might, and would have done, or at least have attempted it, had they been Christians.

Now considering how long the *Moriscoes* had been Subjects to the *Spaniards* (those of *Valentia* having been conquered by them near four hundred Years before they were expelled) and considering the Pains and Charges the *Spanish* Princes had been at to make them all Christians, and the Severities that had been used with them, especially after they were forced to receive Baptism, to oblige them to profess and embrace the Christian Faith; the *Moriscoes* obstinately adhering thus to the *Mahometan Sect*, is certainly a most wonderful thing. But as the strangest Events have their Causes, only they are not so easily discovered as the most common, so, with Submission to better Judgments, I take the following Particulars to have been the Causes of the unusual Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes* in the *Mahometan Sect*.

I. *The* Moriscoes *having from the Day they were first conquered, until the Day they were ex-*

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pelled Spain, *lived in great Numbers together; not only whole Villages, but some Towns and Countries having had few Inhabitants in them, that were not of that Race. Now by living thus together, they did both very much encourage and confirm one another in their Infidelity, and were much safer in it from the Inquisition, than they would otherwise have been.*

II. *The 2d Cause of this strange Obstinacy, was a Consequence of the First. And that was their continuing still to speak only the* Arabick *Tongue; which was the Case of most of their Women, and of all their Children: And as this was a great Hindrance to their being instructed in the* Christian Faith, *few or none of their* Curates, *or of the* Missionaries *that were sent among them, understanding any thing of that Language, so it still preserved the Memory among them, of their being the same People with the* Moors, *whose Language that was, and the Book of whose Law was writ in it.*

III. *The 3d Cause was, their living so in the Neighbourhood of the* Moors *of* Barbary, *that few Weeks passed without their hearing something or other of them, and of their Affairs. And as the* Moriscoes *did all know that* Spain *had been once conquered by the* Moors, *their Ancestors, and did much value themselves upon it; so it is not unlikely that they might, after the Example of all conquered Nations, which are not become one People with their*

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Conquerors; feed themſelves ſtill with Hopes derived from vain Prophecies, or idle Traditional Stories, of ſeeing the Moors, *at one time or other Maſters of* Spain *again.*

IV. *The 4th Cauſe was, the proud and fooliſh Care the* Spaniards *took to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the* Moriſcoes, *by calling themſelves* Old Chriſtians, *and the* Moriſcoes, New Chriſtians, *and by excluding the* Moriſcoes *from all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State: By which Courſe, they did both exaſperate the Spirits of the* Moriſcoes *againſt the* Chriſtians, *and their* Religion, *and did keep alive among them, the Memory of their being deſcended from the* Moors, *which was truly the chief Root of their Obſtinacy in* Mahometiſm.

The laſt Cauſe was, the Spaniards *Adoring of* Images, *for which, the* Mahometans, *as well as the Jews, have an invincible Averſion.*

I do not, with the Barons, reckon the Cruelties which were exerciſed on the *Moriſcoes* by the Inquiſition, after they were forced to receive Baptiſm, among the Cauſes of their Infidelity. And the reaſon why I do not, is, becauſe ſuch terrible Cruelties, though they cannot convince Infidels of the Truth of *Chriſtianity*, but do rather prejudice them againſt it; they can nevertheleſs oblige them ſo far to diſſem-

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ble, that they ſhall never dare to truſt their Children, or their Nurſes, with the Secret of their inward Unbelief: by which means their Children will be brought up *Chriſtians*, after the ſame manner as they would have been, had none of their Anceſtors ever been of any other Religion. This Effect the great and unintermitting Severities of the Inquiſition would certainly have had on the next Generation of the *Moriſcoes*, after they began to be exerciſed, had it not been for their living together, with few or no *Old Chriſtians* among them, to obſerve what they did.

Auſtine Salucio, a wiſe, and learned *Spaniſh Dominican* Fryar, was of Opinion, that the main Body of the *Moriſcoes* were deſcended from the old Inhabitants of *Spain*, who having in the Conqueſt of that Kingdom been ſubdued by the *Moors*, did, in Proceſs of Time, loſe both their former Language, and their Religion, and were incorporated ſo with their Conquerors, as to become one and the ſame People with them; and that it muſt have been ſo, he thinks is very plain, from the *Mooriſh* Territories in *Spain* having been always very Populous, and for ſome Ages before they were recovered out of the Hands of the *Moors*, having had few or no *Chriſtians* in them, which could not otherwiſe have been; ſince

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ſince few, beſides Soldiers, and thoſe in no very great Numbers neither, and with very few Women, ever came from *Barbary* into *Spain*. And as to the *Goths*, who were and had been Maſters of *Spain* for ſome Ages, when it was conquered by the *Moors*, he ſaith, the moſt of them were either killed in the Battels they had with the *Moors*, or retired into *France*, and the Northern and Mountainous Countries of *Spain*.

This ingenious Thought of *Salucio*'s is much confirmed by a Letter, written in the Year 1311. to the Council of *Vien*, by *James* King of *Aragon*, wherein he affirms, that of two hundred thouſand *Mahometans*, who were at that time in the Kingdom and City of *Granada*, there were not above five hundred that were deſcended of true *Moors*, all the reſt being Deſcendents of *Spaniards*, who had apoſtatized from the *Chriſtian Faith*, and had turned *Mahometans*. The ſame Fryar is of Opinion, that the main Body of the preſent *Spaniards* muſt, for the ſame Reaſons, be the Deſcendents of thoſe *Spaniſh Moriſcoes* who remained in *Spain*, after it was recovered by the *Chriſtians*. But to return to the Thread of the Hiſtory.

The King, and the *Angel of his Great Council*, as the Fryars call'd the Duke of *Lerma*, on this Occaſion, having fix'd the

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Month of *September*, in the Year 1609. for the Expulsion of all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, Orders were secretly dispatched some Months before, to the Commanders in Chief of the Men of War, and Gallies of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, to have their Fleets ready to sail by *August* next, with a certain Number of Land-Soldiers aboard them, which having been done under a Pretence of making some Attempt upon the Coast of *Barbary*, new Orders were dispatch'd to the Fleet of *Spain*, which were twenty in Number, and had on Board a thousand Soldiers, to sail to the Ports of *Vinares*, and *Albaques*, to the Fleet of *Naples*, which were seventeen in Number, and had on Board two thousand and seventy five Soldiers, to sail to the Port of *Denia*, the Gallies of *Sicily*, which were nine in Number, and of *Portugal*, with fourteen Men of War, which had on Board two thousand four hundred Soldiers, being ordered to sail to *Alicant*.

The Barons, who had not the least Suspicion of these Preparations, being made to transport the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom into *Barbary*, were first alarm'd by *Don Peter de Mercia*, Governour of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, a great Soldier, being sent from Court to *Valencia*, and *Don Peter de Toledo*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, being

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ing ſent at the ſame time to *Denia*, the firſt being to command the Land Forces, and the ſecond the whole Fleet, when they arrived. And though they ſtill pretended that their Deſign was to make a Deſcent ſomewhere on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, the *Barons* did from ſeveral Circumſtances gather, that that was only a Blind, and that their Buſineſs muſt be to tranſport all the *Moriſcoes*: In which Suſpicions they were much confirmed, by their Archbiſhop's laying in extraordinary Proviſions of Meal, Wine and Fuel, and taking ſuch a Number of Men and Arms into his Houſe, as if he had expected to be beſieged in it; for he, it ſeems, was in the Secret.

Upon this Alarm the Barons aſſembled themſelves in the City of *Valencia*; which by the Conſtitution of the Government of that Kingdom they might do, whenever they judged there was any Occaſion for it; and after having ſpoke their Thoughts freely, concerning the preſent great Preparations, they diſpatched ſome Deputies to the Marquiſs of *Carazena*, their Viceroy; deſiring to know of him, what was the meaning of them.

The Viceroy, though he was much troubled at the *Military Arm's* being aſſembled, for ſo ſuch Aſſemblies of the *Barons* are called, received their Deputies with great Civility;

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vility; desiring them to assure the *Barons* from him, that whatever his Majesty's Design was by the present Preparations, it was to promote the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom of *Valencia*; and that they could have no Reason to be jealous of the Court's having any ill Design upon their Liberties or Privileges, at a time, when the Duke of *Lerma*, who was their Countreyman, and had a great Estate among them, was the first Minister.

But the *Barons* not doubting, after they had received this Answer from the *Viceroy*, That the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was the thing that was designed; and not being so certain, that a first Minister will be faithful to the true Interest of his Country, as they were, that nothing could be more prejudicial to *Valencia* than that Expulsion; it was proposed, that they should immediately dispatch Deputies to Court, in their Names to remonstrate against it, as the worst thing that could be done to them, and the whole Kingdom. This Proposition was agreed to by the whole Body, the Count of *Tindil* and his Brother only excepted: Who tho they pretended to condemn the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* as much as any of the rest, did oppose the sending of Deputies to Court, which, they said, would be taken ill by the King, and could signify nothing; it not being

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ing a thing to be imagined, that the King, after he had been at such vast Expences, should by any Remonstrances that could be made to him, be diverted from executing whatever he design'd thereby. This Opposition was taken most heinously by all the rest of the *Barons*, who told that Count and his Brother, That because they would suffer little, as to their own private Estates, by that Expulsion, having few or no *Morisco* Vassals, they were not concerned for what the Publick would suffer thereby. But the Constitution of the *Military Arm* being such, that nothing can be done in it without the unanimous Vote of all its Members, the *Barons* adjourned till next Morning, without doing any thing.

The *Viceroy* having been inform'd of the great Heat the *Barons* had been in, ordered the Chief Judge of the *Chancery* to be present at their Meeting next Morning, to try to allay their Heat, and, if it were possible, to divert them from sending any Deputies to Court. But the *Barons*, when they were assembled, notwithstanding all that Judge could say to them, did declare, That they would not be hindred either by Artifice, or unreasonable Opposition, from discharging their Duty to their Country and Posterity.

But

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But as they were about to have named their Deputies, the Lord Chief Justice in Criminal Matters came among them, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, to *adjourn, and repair before Night to their respective Houses.*

But if the *Barons* were angry before, this unexpected Adjournment made them much more so. And therefore when they met again next Morning, they all drew their Swords as soon as they entred the Senate House, declaring, *They would not sheath them again before they had finished the Business they had met about.*

The Lord Chief Justice, who had been sent to them again by the *Viceroy*, as he was exhorting the *Barons* with great Vehemence to put up their Swords, and to behave themselves as became good Subjects, fell down dead in the Place where he stood, and never spoke a Word more.

Had such a sad Accident as this happened at this time, to any of the *Barons*, as they were speaking against the *Expulsion*, it would have rung louder, as a Judgment, thorough all *Spain*, than the Bell of *Vilila* had rung on the same side.

The Report at first was, *That my Lord Chief Justice was killed by the* Barons *in the Senate House.* But his Relations and others were quickly satisfy'd that it was not so, and

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and that he died of pure Paſſion, thorough a too violent Agitation of his Spirits.

But tho the Barons were diverted for ſome Hours by this ſurprizing Accident, from naming their Deputies, they both named them before they roſe, and drew up their Inſtructions; the Subſtance whereof was,

That they were, in their Names, to aſſure the King, and the Duke of Lerma, *that* Valencia *would be abſolutely ruined, if the* Moriſcoes, *by whom all its Work was done, ſhould be turn'd out of it.*

The Perſons named for Deputies, were *Don Philip Buyl Baron of Munizes*, and *Don John Bellterra*, who having poſted to *Madrid*, and obtained an Audience of the King, delivered the Letters they had from the Barons to his Majeſty, having delivered that they had from them to the Duke of *Lerma* before.

The King after he had heard all that the Deputies had to offer againſt the Expulſion, told them, *They came too late, the* Ban *for expelling the* Moriſcoes *of* Valencia *having been publiſhed in that Kingdom before that time, as it was the Day before.* The King told them farther, *That he had ſent a Letter to the* Barons,

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rons, *which he was sure would satisfy them of the Necessity there was of doing it*: Which Letter was as follows:

Honourable and Beloved,

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great Endeavours that have been used, *during a long Series of Years, to convert the* New Christians *of this Kingdom, and of an* Edict of Grace *having been granted to them, and of all the other Means which have been made Use of, to have instructed them in our Holy Faith; as also of the ill Success of all those Endeavours, not so much as one of them, as is believed, having been converted thereby. On the contrary, their Obstinacy has gone on encreasing daily, with an Inclination to plot the Disturbance of the Peace of these our Kingdoms.*

Now the Danger and irreparable Damage which may attend our suffering these People to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some Years ago, by several Learned and Holy Men, who exhorted me to a speedy Remedy, which they told me I was bound in Conscience to make Use of; assuring me further, that I might, without any Scruple of Conscience, punish them all with Death, and the Loss of their Estates, for the Crimes whereof they were guilty; all of them being guilty of Heresy *and* Apostacy, *and of Treason against God and their King. Although me might*

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might have proceeded againſt them with the Rigor which their Crimes do deſerve, yet we continuing deſirous, if it had been poſſible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle Methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta *to be held at* Valencia, *to conſult together, to ſee whether any new ways might be found out to convert them; that ſo we might not be obliged to baniſh them out of* Spain. *But while we were thus labouring their* Converſion, *we received Advice by ſeveral ways, of their having ſent Deputies to* Conſtantinople *and* Morocco, *to invite the* Turk *and* Muley Silem *to come to their Aſſiſtance, with an Aſſurance of fifty thouſand Men being ready to join them when they landed in* Spain, *who were all as true* Mahometans *as any in* Barbary, *and would all ſacrifice their Lives and Eſtates in their Service. And to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them, it would be an eaſy Conqueſt,* Spain *having but few Men in it that were fit to bear Arms, and yet fewer that knew any thing of Martial Diſcipline. They have been guilty alſo of holding a Correſpondence with Heretical and other Princes, who are Enemies to the Greatneſs of our Monarchy, having offered to aſſiſt both the one and the other with their Forces.*

Farthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turks *having concluded a Peace with the* Perſian, *and with ſome of his Rebellious Sub-*

jects,

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jects, that so he may be at liberty to send his Fleet into our Seas, and that Muley Silem *also has quieted his Kingdom, and is treating with the* Northern Hereticks *about Ships to transport an Army of* Moors *into* Spain; *which those* Hereticks *have promised to supply him with: And in how great danger* Spain *would be, if it should be invaded by these and some other Enemies, I leave to you to judge.*

Now considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the Obligations we are under, to procure the Conservation and Security of our Kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our good and faithful Subjects therein, who are, of all our other Subjects, in the greatest danger; and that the Heresy *and* Apostacy *wherewith our Lord is so much offended, may be extirpated (after having recommended this Affair, and caused it to be recommended to God; trusting in his Divine Favour, in a Work wherein his Glory is so deeply concern'd) We have resolved to banish all the* Moriscoes *out of this our Kingdom, and that of* Castile, *in such a manner as you will be advertized of: With which, as good and faithful Subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted, on purpose to make you sensible, that it is the Desire to secure your Persons and Affairs, and to prevent the Dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great Love I have for you, that moved me to take this Resolution; the Execution*

whereof

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whereof cannot be delay'd any longer, without running the hazard of seeing Spain *speedily invaded by so many Enemies, and particularly the forementioned Infidels.*

We do therefore earnestly charge you, to whose Security and Repose the effectual and speedy Execution of this our Purpose will redound so much, to be assistant to it, as you shall be directed by the Marquis de Carazena, *our Lieutenant and Captain General of this Kingdom. And this I expect from the Zeal you have for God's Service and mine, and your own Preservation; and herein you will comply with the Obligations of faithful and good* Christians *and Subjects, and will perform the most acceptable Service you can do us.*

As to every thing relating to the Execution of this our Purpose, we do remit you to our Viceroy, *who shall in my Name direct you, and whose Directions you shall execute.*

From St. Lawrence, *the* 11*th of* September, 1609.

This Letter was on the 22d of the same Month delivered by the *Viceroy* to the *Barons*, who having the same Thoughts of the Treasons mentioned in it, as they had

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some Years before, when they called them *Speculations* and *Chimeras*, were not at all satisfy'd with it, though the great Fleet and Army that were at that time in their Ports, oblig'd them to submit to what is ordered.

And on the same Day the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom was published by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Places of the City of *Valencia*, and in a short time after in all the Cities and Towns of that Kingdom.

The

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The BAN of Expulsion.

The King, and in His Majesty's Name,

Don Lewis Carillo de Toledo, Marquess of *Caracena*, Lord of the Towns of *Pinto*, and *Tes*, Commendador of *Chiclana* and *Montizon*, Viceroy, Lieutenant, and Captain General of the City and Kingdom of *Valencia*, for our Lord the King.

To all the Grandees, Prelates, Titulars, Barons, Knights, Justices, and Jurors of the Cities, Towns, and Villages, and to the General Baylifs and Governors, and to all other his Majesty's Officers; and to all Citizens, Peasants, and all other Persons whatsoever:

His Majesty in his Royal Letter, bearing Date the 4th of *August*, in this present Year, and signed with his own Royal Hand, and counter-signed by *Andrew de Prada*, his Secretary of State, wrote to me as followeth:

To the *Marquess de Caracena*, our Cousin and Lieutenant, and Capt. General of our Kingdom of *Valencia*,

KNOW Ye, &c.

I do not here insert the King's *Letter* to the *Viceroy*, because it is, *mutatis mutandis*,

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Word for Word the same with that to the *Barons*, which I have set down at length, *Page* 42.

Now that this His Majesty's *Command may be executed, and have its due Effect, We have commanded the following* Ban *to be published.*

I. THAT all the *Moriscoes* of this Kingdom, Men, Women, and Children shall within three Days after the Publication of this *Ban* in the Place where they live, and have their Habitation, depart and go towards the Place appointed by the Commissaries (whom they are to follow, and obey) for their Embarcation; taking with them so much of their moveable Goods as they are able to carry, there to embarque on the Gallies and Ships which are ready to carry them to *Barbary*; where they shall be landed without any Molestation, either in Word or Deed, to their Persons, or to the Goods they carry with them: and tho whatever is necessary to their Subsistence shall be provided for them aboard the Ships, they may nevertheless lay in what Provision they please for themselves: With which *Ban*, who-

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whoſoever ſhall not comply, but ſhall violate it in any Particular, ſhall be puniſhed with Death.

II. If any of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* ſhall, after the Publication of this *Ban*, abſent themſelves from the Places where they lived, they ſhall be apprehended by any Perſon that ſhall meet with them, and ſuch Perſons are hereby immediately Indemnify'd for the ſame, and in caſe any of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* do offer to defend themſelves againſt being carry'd before the next Juſtice, it ſhall be lawful to kill them.

III. If any of the ſaid *Moriſcoes* ſhall hide or bury any of the Goods they cannot carry with them, or ſhall ſet Fire to their Houſes, Corn, Orchards, or Trees, they ſhall be put to Death by the People of that Place where it is done, whom we do command to be the Executioners of it: His Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant all their Goods, Moveables, and Immoveables, beſides thoſe they can carry themſelves, to the Lords to whom they were Vaſſals.

IV. No *Moriſcoe* ſhall, under pain of Death, remove from the place where he was at the Publication of this *Ban*, but they ſhall all remain where they

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were at that time, until the Commissaries, who are to conduct them to the Sea-side, do come to them.

V. For the Preservation of the Houses, Ingenio's of Sugar, Granaries of Rice, and Aqueducts, &c. and for the Instruction of the new Inhabitants that are to come, in all those Works, his Majesty, at our request, has been pleased to grant, that in every Town where there are an hundred *Morisco* Families, six may remain, with their Wives and Children, provided their Children are not, nor have ever been married, but are under the Tutorage of their Parents, and in their Proportion more, or fewer, according to the Number of Families in Places. Only that Number must never be exceeded. The Nomination of all the Families that are to remain shall be left to the Lords of the Places, who must send an Account to us, of the Persons named by them. And as to the *Moriscos* that are to remain in Places belonging to the King, and to us, Care will be taken to prefer the most Ancient, and Husbandmen, and such as are supposed to be the truest *Christians*, or, that seem best disposed to be reduced to our Holy Faith.

VI.

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VI. *No Old Chriſtian*, nor Soldier, Native, or Foreigner, ſhall dare to treat any of the *Moriſcoes* ill, either by Word or Deed, or to meddle with the Perſons, Wives, or Goods of the ſaid *Moriſcoes*.

VII. None ſhall preſume to hide, or conceal any of the *Moriſcoes* in their Houſes, nor ſhall be any ways aſſiſtant to their being concealed, or to their abſenting of themſelves, upon pain of being condemned to the Gallies for ſix Years, without Remiſſion, and of other Puniſhments, as his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

VIII. That the *Moriſcoes* may be ſatisfy'd that his Majeſty intends only to baniſh them out of *Spain*, and land them without any Vexation on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, we do permit ten of the *Moriſcoes* that ſhall embarque at the firſt Voyage, to return, to inform thoſe that are behind how they were uſed. The ſame ſhall be obſerv'd in every Embarcation by the Captain General of the Gallies, who ſhall not ſuffer any Soldier or Mariner to abuſe the *Moriſcoes*, either by Word or Deed.

IX. Their Children, Male and Female, that are under four Years old, whoſe Parents, or if they are Orphans, whoſe

Guardians are willing they should stay behind, shall not be expelled.

X. The Boys and Girls that are not above six Years old, one of whose Parents is an *Old Christian*, may stay, and their Mother with them, tho she be a *Morisco*: But if the Father be a *Morisco*, and the Mother an *Old Christian*, the Father shall be banished, and the Children that are under six Years old shall remain with their Mother.

XI. They also may stay, who have lived among *Old Christians* for a considerable time, and have not in the two Years last past been at any of the Meetings of the *Moriscoes*.

XII. They also may stay, who have with the leave of their Prelate, received the most Holy Sacrament, and can shew a Certificate from their Parish-Priest of their having done it.

XIII. His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant Leave to the said *Moriscoes*, to go into any Kingdom out of the *Spanish* Dominions, provided they depart from their Habitations within the time prefix'd.

This is his Majesty's Royal and fix'd Will; and that the Penalties *of this* Ban *be executed, and that they shall be executed*

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ted without Remiſſion; and to the intent it may come to the Knowledge of all, that it be publiſhed in the cuſtomary Form.

Dated at the Palace of *Valencia*, on the 22d of *September*, 1609.

By his Excellency's Command,

Manuel de Eſpinoſa.

The *Viceroy*, who of himſelf was no Friend to the Expulſion, no more than the other *Barons*, knowing how highly the Nobles and Gentry would be diſpleaſed with the Publication of this *Ban*, and that it would make all the *Moriſcoes* deſperate, did at the ſame time with the *Ban*, publiſh the following *Orders*, for the Security of the Peace of the Kingdom.

From the Gate of the Palace *to that of the* Jews, *the Walls ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of the Gouernour* Don James Ferrer, *whoſe Guard-houſe ſhall be the Cloyſter of the* Dominicans.

From the Gate of the Jews *to that of* Racafa, *they ſhall be guarded by the Regiment of* Don John de Caſtelni, *whoſe Guard-houſe ſhall be in the* Hoſpital.

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From the Gate of Racafa *to that of the* Innocents, *they shall be guarded by the Regiment of* Don Francis Juan, *whose Guard-house shall be the* Port-house of St. Vincent.

From the Gate of the Innocents *to that of the* Tintes, *they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde de Caſteller, *whose Guard-house shall be the* Portall.

From the Gate de Tintes *to that of* Serranes, *they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde de Alaques, *whose Guard-house shall be the New Gate.*

From the Gate of Serrenes *to the Palace, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the* Conde de Bennel, *whose Guard-house shall be the* Gate de Serrenes.

The Company of Hundred *shall repair to the Close of the* See Church *and the* Town-house.

The Company de la Seca *shall repair to the* Market Place.

The Familiars of the Holy Office *shall repair to the* Close of St. Lawrence, *and the* House of the Inquiſition.

The Gentlemen and Exempts shall repair to the Palace.

Five Companies shall be on the Guard every Night, one at the Gate of the Palace, which shall ſend Sentinels to the Magazine of Arms; *another within the Palace; another*

at

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at the Gate de Serras, which ſhall ſend Sentinels to the Magazine of Powder; and another at the Gate de Quarto, and another at St. Vincent.

The Soldiers, when they are upon the Guard, ſhall not leave their Poſts for one Minute; and to prevent Diſorders, they ſhall not be permitted to carry their Arms thorough the Streets when they go home to their Houſes.

The Gates of the City ſhall be ſhut at their uſual Hour, and the four chief Gates after they are once ſhut, ſhall not be opened without our Order, either by word of Mouth, or Writing, and ſent by the Sergeant, Major, or Adjutant.

None, upon Pain of Death, ſhall preſume to make any Alarm. And if any do preſume to do it, the Captains and other Officers ſhall aſſiſt to apprehend them.

The Main Guard ſhall not beat an Alarm until they have our particular Order to do it; and if there ſhould be any ſuch Occaſion, notice ſhall be ſent to me of it, that I may judge whether it ought to be done, or not. For as this City can be in no great Danger but from a great Body of Men, ſo ſuch a Body cannot approach near to it, without our having notice of them before.

The

The Villages that are about the City must keep strong Guards; and in case of any Rumor of an Army, they shall come and tell me of it, and that without saying any thing of it in the City, or to those that are upon the Guard.

In case there should be occasion for a general Alarm, it shall be given by striking the great Bell in the See Church *with an Hammer, and upon that Signal's being given, Candles shall be lighted in all the Houses, and be set in the Windows, and the Men shall all repair to their Colours, and the Women and Children shall all keep within Doors.*

And whereas the Suburbs, and the Fifteen Convents of Fryars *and* Nuns *that are in them are the most exposed to Danger, we do order the five Troops, which are the Guard of the Coast of this Kingdom, to be quartered there, with their other Guards; a whole Troop of which Body shall patrole every Night, the Command whereof I do commit to my Brother* Don Pacheco y Cavillo, *the* Marquiss de Framista *my Son-in-law, being appointed by me to be about my Person, to be employed by me as there shall be Occasion.*

The Marquess of

Caraxena.

The

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The Archbiſhop who had been ſo great an Inſtrument in the promoting this Expulſion, to teſtify his Joy and Thanks for it, and to inflame the Old Chriſtians againſt the *Moriſcoes*, did on the ſame Day that the *Ban* was publiſhed, publiſh the following *Orders* to be obſerved by his *Clergy*.

We Don John de Ribera, *by the Grace of God, and the Holy and Apoſtolical See, Patriarch of* Antioch, *and Archbiſhop of* Valencia, *of his Majeſty's Council*, &c.

To the Venerable Rectors and Clerks, and to the Reverend Fathers the Superiors of the Religious of this our Archbiſhoprick.

IT *being manifeſt, that his Majeſty was moved to the Reſolution he has taken of baniſhing all the* Moriſcoes *out of this Kingdom, by his holy Zeal for the Service of God, and the Exaltation of his Holy* Catholick Faith, *and for the Preſervation of his Kingdoms, and of all his faithful Subjects in Peace and Tranquillity, we do truſt in God, that his Majeſty's Commands in this Affair will meet with a ready Obedience, ſo as to compaſs the Ends at which it aims. And whereas this is a Matter of the higheſt Moment, both*

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both as to the Service of God, and the general Profit of these Kingdoms, it is just and necessary that we should all have Recourse to God, beseeching him so to direct this Affair, that his own Glory and Honour may be thereby exalted, and his Majesty's Life and Health may be prosperous, and this his Royal and Holy Action may compass its Ends, and Heresy *and* Blasphemy *may be confounded: I have therefore judged it to be convenient, to command all the Rectors and Clerks, and to desire and charge all the Superiors of the Religious to have the most Holy* Sacrament *uncovered in their* Churches *and* Monasteries, *on the Days hereafter appointed, and in all their* Sacrifices *and* Prayers, *publick and private, to recommend to God the effectual and speedy Execution of this his Majesty's* Command.

On *Sunday* the 27th of *September*, at the *Cathedral-Church*, and at the *Convent* of the *Dominicans*.

On *Monday* the 28th.

On *Tuesday* the 29th, at St. *Andrews*, and St. *Austins*.

On *Wednesday* the 3d, at St. *John's Hospital*, and the Church of the *Carmelites*; and so on till the 21st of *October* the *Sacrament* was uncovered every Day in two Churches in that City.

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But besides this *Mandate*, there was another directed by him to all the *Rectors*, *Vicars*, &c. within his Archbishoprick, which was as followeth.

Reverend Father,

"THIS will give you to understand, that his Majesty has taken a Resolution to expel all the *Moriscoes* out of this Kingdom; whereby the great and many bold Blasphemies against God and his Religion, of which you that live among the *Moriscoes* cannot but be sensible, and for which great Plagues from Heaven, if not the general Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom, might justly have been feared, will cease.

"His Majesty being enlightned by the Holy Ghost, and in the first Place, having God's Service in his Eye; and in the second Place, the Benefit of this Kingdom, and the Security of its Inhabitants; notwithstanding he might justly have inflicted on them the Punishments, which the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws do appoint for *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, and *Traytors*; has nevertheless out of his customary Clemency and Benignity, only banished those that troubled us; which was according to St. *Paul*'s Desire.

This

'This I was willing you should know 'from me, that you and all the other 'Priests belonging to your Church, might 'return particular Thanks to God for the 'singular Mercy of his having given us so 'religious and zealous a King, and beseech 'him, both in your publick and private 'Prayers, to preserve his Majesty, and 'prosper him with good Success for the 'Service of *Christianity*. This Charge shall 'be given by you to all the Priests and 'People in your Parishes, that they may 'supplicate his Divine Majesty to direct the 'speedy and effectual Execution of this Af-'fair, wherein the Glory of his Holy Name, 'and the Spiritual and Temporal Benefit of 'this Kingdom is so much concerned. You 'shall likewise with all possible Care and 'Diligence assist all the Officers that are or 'shall be employ'd by his Majesty in this 'Business, in all things relating thereunto; 'being always ready to comply with what-'soever they shall ordain, so it be not con-'trary to your Profession, and you shall let 'them know that I have ordered you so to 'do; And if you should want my Ad-'vice on any Occasion, you may, and 'I hope you will, write freely to me 'for it.

And

'And whereas our Lord the King has 'out of his great Piety, and for the greater 'Security of his Royal Conſcience, Order-'ed all the Boys and Girls that are under 'four Years old, if they, and their Parents, '(or if they are Orphans, their Guardians) 'do conſent to it, not to be expelled, as 'alſo, all the Boys and Girls, who are un-'der ſix Years old, one of whoſe Parents 'is an *Old Chriſtian* (their Mother, tho ſhe 'be a *Moriſco*, being to remain with them, 'but in caſe the Father be a *Moriſco*, and 'the Mother an *Old Chriſtian*, the Father 'being to be expelled, and the Children 'that are under ſix Years old, being to re-'main behind with their Mother) as alſo 'that none of thoſe ſhall be expelled, who 'have lived for a conſiderable time, that is, 'for two Years, among *Chriſtians*, without 'having ever been at any of the Meetings 'of the *Moriſcoes*, nor any of thoſe who 'have with the Licence of their Prelates, 'received the moſt Holy Sacrament, ha-'ving a Certificate thereof from the Rector 'of their Pariſh. All theſe Particulars 'you ſhall take great Care to ſee executed 'in your Pariſh; and if there ſhall be Oc-'caſion, you ſhall let the King's Officers 'know, that I have commanded you to aſ-'ſiſt them in theſe his Majeſty's Royal 'Commands; neither need you fear, that

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they will have no regard to you, seeing the most Illustrious, and Excellent, the Marquess of *Caracena*, his Majesty's Vice-roy, has order'd them to be advised by you. I do farther charge you to use all Pity and Charity with the Children that shall remain, in Obedience to what our Lord has taught us, saying, *Suffer little Children to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.* As to those, both you and I are under great Obligations, being bound to do more for our Sheep, and Parishioners, than for others. In all this I do hope you will discharge the Ministry that is committed to you, and will so demean your selves therein, *that others seeing your good Works, may be edify'd thereby*, and that I may have Cause to thank you, both by Word and Deed, for your Care and Vigilance therein, of which you are to send me a particular Account, as also, of the Number of the Boys and Girls that are to remain in your Parishes, and of their Accommodations,

Given at our Archiepiscopal Palace, the 2nd of Septem. 1609.

The Patriarch,

Archbishop of

Valencia.

The

The Archbishop not being satisfy'd with those Testimonies of his Joy on this Occasion, did preach himself in the *Cathedral-Church* the *Sunday* after the *Ban* was published; which was the Day whereon he had ordered the *Sacrament* to be uncover'd in it; his Text was those Words of St. *Paul*, in the 5th *Chapter* of his *Epistle* to the *Ephesians*; *I wish they were cut off that trouble you.* This Sermon being little else than an Encomium and Justification of the Expulsion, I judged it would not be improper to present the Reader with it, as an Appendix to this History.

As to the Children of the *Moriscoes*, of whom the Archbishop speaks here with great Tenderness, he was of several Minds about them. At first, when he began to solicit the King to expel the *Moriscoes*, he advised him to detain all their Children that were under ten Years old, and to sell them for Slaves in *Spain*, where they would be educated in the *Christian Faith*. But after, having considered better on that Affair, and recommended it to God with more Fervour; he begg'd the King's Pardon for having given him that Advice, and desired that all the *Morisco* Children that were above five Years old might be expelled, because it was known by Experience to be a very difficult Matter to convert one to *Christia-*

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nity, that was bred till he was of that Age in the *Mahometan Sect*. But being afterwards further enlightned, he advised the King to expel all the Children with their Parents, giving the three following Reasons for this his last Advice.

1. *Because it would be impossible to find Nurses for all the* Morisco *Children that were under that Age, there being at that time in the Kingdom of* Valencia *above six and fifty thousand* Morisco *Children that were under five Years old: And in all* Spain *there were above forty thousand* Morisco *Children born every Year.*
2. *Since great Numbers of* Moriscoes, *Men and Women, were, for the sake of some Works and Manufactures, to remain still in* Spain, *there would be no Possibility of preventing the* Morisco *Children being corrupted and made.* Mahometans *by them.*

Lastly, *Because the* Moriscoes *were a People that were so extraordinary fond of their Children, and averse to their being bred* Christians, *that they would certainly rebel, if the* Spaniards *did offer to take their Children from them by Force.*

To these Three the Archbishop might, I suppose, have added a 4th Reason; which was, the Cardinal of *Toledo*'s, who was the great

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great Wheel of the Expulſion, being againſt any of the *Moriſco* Children being left in *Spain*, to corrupt the *Spaniſh* Blood with the *Mooriſh*. So, that any *Moriſco*, old or young, was excepted, was owing to the *Viceroy's* Intereſt in the Duke of *Lerma*, which tho it was not ſtrong enough to divert the Expulſion, was able to procure all the Limitations that are in it.

After the *Moriſcoes* were a little recovered from the great Conſternation the Publication of the *Ban of Expulſion* had thrown them into, ſome of the chief Men among them met privately together at *Valencia*, to conſult whether it was poſſible to divert this terrible Storm that was come upon them ſo unexpectedly. For the *Moriſcoes* had for two Years before, (that is, from the time the Expulſion was determined at Court) been much leſs troubled about Religion than they had ever been before, ſince they were baptized: Their Adverſaries having, during that time, winked at them on purpoſe to have clearer Diſcoveries from them of their being *Mahometans*; by which means few or none of them were capable of any Benefit by that Exception in the *Ban*, of *all thoſe who had within two Years received the Sacrament, with a Licenſe from their Prelates.*

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It was agreed at this Meeting, that they should make an Addreſs to the *Viceroy*; wherein, after having given him all poſſible Aſſurances of their Loyalty, and of their having never been in any manner of Correſpondence with the *Moors*, or with any other of the King's Enemies, they ſhould offer a great Sum of Money to the King, and if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to revoke the late *Ban*, undertake to maintain a conſiderable Number of Gallies continually, and to build and maintain ſeveral Forts upon the Coaſts, to defend it againſt the Inſults of the *Barbary Moors*, and of all the other Enemies of *Spain*; and that they would further redeem all the *Spaniſh* Captives that were at that time Slaves in *Barbary*; and would for ever redeem all that ſhould be taken by the *Moors* off the Land of *Valencia*. This Addreſs was preſented to the *Viceroy* by eight of the moſt ancient and venerable Men of that Aſſembly. His Anſwer to it was, *That it was to no purpoſe for them to think of any thing, but of yielding a ready Obedience to the* Ban, *which the King was immovably determined to have executed.*

When the Deputies returned to their Body with this melancholy Anſwer to their Addreſs, a general Riſing of the *Moriſcoes* all over the Kingdom was propoſed by ſome hot Spirits among them, as the only Remedy

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medy they had left; but that Motion, conſidering the Poſture and Government they were in at that time, being rejected as Madneſs, they could think of no better way to oblige the *Spaniards* to ſuffer them all to ſtay, than by perſwading the *Moriſco* Families, which were allowed by the *Ban* to remain in *Spain*, not to accept of that *Grace*, if their Brethren were expelled, and ſo to leave the *Spaniards* to their Choice, to keep them all, or to have none of them.

This Expedient having in a very ſhort time been whiſpered into the Ears of all the *Moriſcoes*, did work one of the ſuddeneſt and greateſt Changes in them that was perhaps ever heard of. The *Moriſcoes*, who the Minute before had been on their Knees to their Lords to beg, That they and their Families might be named by them to ſtay, not being to be perſwaded to ſtay, by all that their Lords could ſay or do to them; all of them to a Man, declaring reſolutely, That they would run the ſame Fortune with their Brethren, let that be what it would; and would ſtay if they ſtay'd, and go with them if they went.

This ſudden Reſolution of the *Moriſcoes* made the Barons much more diſcontented than they were before; nothing having ſweetned the *Ban* ſo much to them, as the

Exception that had been procured by the *Viceroy* of *six* Morisco *Families out of every Hundred*; which was totally defeated by this. For though it had been so ordered, that the Corn-Harvest was in before the *Ban* was published, the Vintage was hardly begun; and for the Sugars, and several other Manufactures, they were quite at an end, if none of the *Moriscoes* could be perswaded to stay so long as to instruct the old Christians in them, who at present were utter Strangers to them all.

And whereas the Duke of *Gandia* had a great Estate in such Manufactures, he did offer every sixth *Morisco* Family of a hundred within his Lands, what they would ask, so they would but stay with him. The *Moriscoes* told him, *That though they were very unwilling to stay behind their Brethren, yet if he would procure them Liberty of Conscience, so many Families as the* Ban *allowed would remain in his Service; but that otherwise he would not be able to prevail with one single* Morisco *to stay.*

The Duke, though he had little reason to hope that the King would gratify him in this, did petition the *Viceroy* for such a Liberty, only for two or three Years, until some old Christians were taught by the *Moriscoes* how to work those Manufactures. The *Viceroy*'s Answer to this Petition was,

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That ſuch a Liberty would not be granted for one Day, upon any Conſideration whatſoever; for which Anſwer the Viceroy was afterwards thanked by the King.

The *Moriſcoes* were not leſs obſtinate as to their Children, when ſpoke to by their Pariſh Prieſts, to leave them in *Spain*. For when their Pariſh Prieſts went to perſwade them to it, by telling them how incommodious and dangerous a thing it was, to carry ſo many thouſands of Children aboard the Gallies, that would be crowded and peſter'd by other Paſſengers, and whoſe Nurſes having never been at Sea before, would be ſo ſick, that they would not be able to look after them: The *Moriſcoes* Anſwer to them was, that tho they believ'd all this, and a great deal more than they told them, of the Danger and Incommodity of carrying ſo many young Children aboard the Gallies that would be ſo peſter'd; they were reſolv'd their Children ſhould go where they went, and that they had much rather ſee them die aboard the Gallies, or any where elſe, than leave them in the hands of a People that had been ſo mercileſs to their Parents.

On St *Francis*'s Day a thing hapned, if it was not deſign'd, that had like to have eaſed the *Spaniards* of the Charge and Trouble of Tranſporting the *Moriſcoes*, who,

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who, had it not been for the Viceroy's prudent Conduct, might have had all their Throats cut, upon a false Alarm that was given all over the Kingdom.

While the Viceroy was at St. *Francis*'s Church at Mass, a Man on Horseback, contrary to the Vice-roy's express Order, came galloping with a naked Sword in his Hand through the Streets of the City, crying all the way, *The Moriscos, the Moriscos, the Moriscos*, as if they had been entring the Gates; and after having thus alarm'd the whole City, he came to the Church of St. *Francis*, and having alighted there, and gone in, he cry'd aloud to the Viceroy, *there is a vast Army of* Moriscos, *and all well arm'd, within sight of* Sijos de Trigo, a Town within a League of *Valencia, and they cut the Throats of all the* Old Christians, *Men, Women, and Children that they meet with.* This Man had not made an end of his bloody Story, when an Express came to the Vice-roy, with a Letter from the *Alcaide* of *Burinser*, a Village belonging to the Archbishop, in the Neighbourhood of *Sijos de Trigo*, which confirmed all that the other had said, of the Numbers, Nearness, and Cruelties of the *Moriscos* Army.

The

The Viceroy, who did not believe a Syllable of this Tragical Story, tho' confirmed by a Letter from the Archbiſhop *Alcaide*'s own Hand, and knowing, that if he ſhould ſeem to give ſo much Credit to it as to go out of the Quire, the whole City would be put thereby in a greater Conſternation, if it were poſſible, than they were in already; he continued in his Seat, and ſent out his Brother, and ſome others that attended him, to aſſure the People that there could be no ſuch thing, and that it was nothing but a falſe Alarm. The Gentlemen that were ſent out by the Viceroy, after having endeavour'd in vain to ſatisfy the People, who were every where crowding into Churches and Convents to ſave themſelves, ordered a Troop of Horſe to go upon the gallop, where this great and bloody Army was reported to have been ſeen, who being come to the Place, met with the ſame Alarm there, but could ſee nothing like an Army, nor meet with any Body that could tell them any thing more of it, than that they had been alarm'd in the ſame manner as the City, and as the whole Kingdom had been at the ſame time, as was known afterwards.

We are not told of this falſe Alarm's having had any Tragical Effects, only it is ſaid, that after the Publication of the

Ban,

Ban, the Roads, and Fields were every where strowed with the dead Bodies of the *Moriscoes*, some of them having been killed upon former Grudges, and some by the Soldiers, who had been employ'd by devout Ladies to help them to some of the *Morisco* Children, but most of them by the *Banditti*, who were at that time very numerous in *Valencia*.

The Commissaries that were to conduct the *Moriscoes* to the Sea-ports, where the Ships and Gallies lay ready to receive them, having been named by the Viceroy, they repaired to their several Charges; and the *Moriscoes* of *Gandia*, and of the Sea-coast having been order'd to embarque first, six thousand of them were put on Board the Gallies of *Naples*, and fourteen thousand aboard the Men of War and Gallies that were at *Alicant*, and eight thousand aboard the Ships and Gallies at *Vineros*.

The Fleet whereon the *Moriscoes* were embarqued, having joined at Sea, had a very quick Passage to *Oran*, a Garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Barbary*, where being all put ashore, Deputies were sent to the Viceroy of *Tremezen*, to desire him to receive them into his Country, as a People who had been turned out of *Spain* for being of the *Mahometan* Religion. The Viceroy having received their Depu-

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Deputies with great Kindneſs, did immediately diſpatch *Cid Almanſor* to them with 500 Ginets, and 1000 Camels, to carry their Women and Children, and their Goods, if they had any: Which Order was executed by *Almanſor* with great Care and Tenderneſs. For he did not ſuffer any of his Men, or any of the Country People to offer them the leaſt affront, or to do them any injury in their Journey. When they were arrived at *Tremezen*, they were kindly entertained, and allowed all the Liberties and Privileges that are enjoyed by the Natives, and which are ſtill enjoyed by their Poſterity, who are ſince become very numerous in thoſe Parts. So that of all the *Moriſcoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time, theſe of the firſt Embarcation fared the beſt in *Barbary*: Of which kind Uſage, and of their having been civily treated aboard the Ships and Gallies, an Account, according to the King's Order, was carried back to *Spain* by ten *Moriſcoes* that were of that Embarcation.

The King being informed that his Fleet at two Voyages more, which were as many as it would be able to make that Year, could not tranſport one half of the *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, ordered all the Merchants Ships that were at *Lisbon*, *Cales*, *Barcelona*, &c. to ſail to the Ports

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Ports of that Kingdom; great Numbers of Ships came also from *Genoa*, *Majorca*, and the other Islands, and were hired by the *Moriscoes*, who did not care to venture themselves on the King's Ships; by which means all the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, that were not in Arms, were landed in *Barbary* before the latter end of *November*. The Transported at this time were in Number an hundred and forty thousand Men, Women, and Children.

A bold *Morisco*, whose Name was *Melini Siquaira*, having retired after the first Embarcation to the Mountains of *Sagar*, which were wholly inhabited by *Moriscoes*, exhorted them to take up Arms, and defend themselves and their Families, and to die rather with their Swords in their Hands, than to go tamely aboard the Gallies, like so many Sheep to be murthered, as all the *Moriscoes* that had embark'd, had been to his certain Knowledge. With this dismal Story, *Melini* had in a short time got fifteen thousand *Moriscoes* together in a Body, who having proclaimed *Melini* their King, did all promise to live and die with him.

This *Morisco* Army upon the *Viceroy*'s having sent no Troops against them until the Embarcations were all over, is said to have grown very cruel and insolent, and to have murthered all the Priests and Fryars they could

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could lay their Hands on, and so have burnt publickly all the Images and Reliques that were in their Churches and Houses, and particularly the Images of St. *Vincent Ferrer*, who had preached many Years to their Ancestors. But so soon as the Embarcations were dispatched, *Don Austin Mexia* was sent with a great Body of *Veteran* Troops to reduce them, and though the *Moriscoes* fought very desperately, and had the Advantage of the Ground, yet being both ill arm'd, and ill officer'd, they were quickly subdued, and their King *Melini* being taken Prisoner, was sent to *Valencia*, where he was put to Death as a Traytor.

There was another great Insurrection of the *Moriscoes* at the same time in the *Mouth de Cortes*, raised by one *Vincent Burgo*, with the very same Story. This was quelled by the *Conde Corter*, with a great Slaughter of the *Moriscoes*, whose Leader *Vincent* being taken, he murthered himself in Prison.

The *Morisco* Men and Women that were made Prisoners in these two Insurrections, were immediately embark'd, and put ashore on the Coast of *Barbary*; but their Children, who were a great many thousands, were sold by the Soldiers to the *Spaniards*, for ten, twelve, and fifteen Ducats a Piece.

Upon

Upon this great Sale of *Moriſco* Children, a hot Debate aroſe among the Caſuiſts, whether it was lawful for thoſe that had bought them, to make them Slaves? And the King inclining to the merciful Side, did by a Proclamation declare them, not to be Slaves, and, *That they ſhould only ſerve thoſe that had bought them, and would give them a Chriſtian Education, as many Years after they were Twelve Years old, as they were under Twelve when they were bought.*

A fierce Debate did ariſe likewiſe betwixt the *Viceroy* and the *Archbiſhop*, concerning thoſe Children. The *Viceroy*, who thought *Valencia* was depopulated enough already, was for keeping all the *Moriſcoes* which had been ſold by the Soldiers, that were under Fifteen Years old, affirming, *That being diſperſed among the Old Chriſtians, and having no Parents nor Relations near them, to corrupt them, they would all of courſe become true Chriſtians.* But the *Archbiſhop*, who pretended to know better than the *Viceroy*, after what Age there was no making a *Mahometan* a true *Chriſtian*, was for having all the *Moriſcoes*, that were above ſeven Years of Age, when they were bought, baniſhed; and writing to the King about it, he affirm'd, *That if all the* Moriſcoes *which had been ſold by the Soldiers were kept in* Spain, (*a great many thouſands of them being ten, twelve, and fifteen*

teen Years old) after two or three Generations, Valencia *would be filled with* Mahometans *again.* The King, after having heard what was to be offer'd on both ſides, gave Sentence, *That all that were above ſeven Years old, ſhould be forthwith tranſported into* Barbary, *as the Archbiſhop had adviſed.* With which Sentence the *Viceroy* was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he ſuſpended the Execution of it until his Majeſty was better inform'd; affirming to every body, *That it would be a leſs Cruelty to cut the Throats of all thoſe harmleſs and helpleſs Creatures, than to leave them on the Shore of* Barbary, *with no Body to take Care of them, the Parents, and near Relations of moſt of them having been killed in the late Inſurrections.* I could never learn whether this Command of the King's was ever executed, and ſo can only ſay, that if it was, we need not wonder at his having been under ſuch great Terrors of Conſcience when he was upon his Death Bed, as we are told he was.

The *Moriſcoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia* being all either baniſhed or killed, on the 22d of *January*, 1610. the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriſcoes* in the Kingdom of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, was publiſhed by the *Marqueſs of St. German*, in the Form following:

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The King.

'AS Princes are oblig'd in Conscience
'to exterminate all things out of
'their Kingdoms, that are scandalous and
'prejudicial to good Subjects, dangerous
'to the Government, or offensive to God;
'so it is manifest from Experience, that
'many Mischiefs have happen'd to the
'Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Seville*,
'by means of the *Moriscos* that live in
'them. For they (besides their being de-
'scended from those who rebelled in the
'Kingdom of *Granada*, and who begun
'their Rebellion with murthering and mar-
'tyring all the *Priests* and *Old Christians*
'they could lay their hands upon, and invi-
'ted the *Turk* to come and assist them; and
'who, that they might repent of their
'Wickedness, and live peaceably and ho-
'nourably after the manner of Christians,
'were removed out of that Kingdom, ha-
'ving had such things prescribed to them,
'as were sufficient to have produced that
'Effect) have deny'd to yield Obedience to
'our Orders, or to embrace our Faith, but
'have, to the great Dishonour of God, gone
'on detesting it, as is manifest from the
'great Multitudes of *Moriscoes* that have
'been punished by the Office of the Holy
'Inquisition: And who besides their having

'com-

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committed divers Robberies and Murders on the Persons of Old Christians, have sent Deputies to the *Turks*, to desire his Assistance; having also solicited other Princes to send them Succours, offering 'em their Persons and Estates if they would assist them; which Treasonable Councils having never been discovered by any of them, but on the contrary, conceal'd and deny'd by them all, is a manifest Proof of their being all alike minded and affected as to the Obedience they owe to God and us, and to the Security of these Kingdoms.

'All which having been consider'd, together with the strict Obligation we are under, to procure the Conservation and Good of our Subjects, and being desirous to comply with that Obligation; We have with the Advice of divers learned, pious and prudent Persons, who are very zealous for God's Service and ours, determined to banish out of the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, and out of the Town of *Hornacres*, all the New Christian *Moriscoes*, Men, Women, and Children, that live in them: It being expedient, when any heinous or detestable Crimes are committed by some particular Persons of a Community, to dissolve the said Society, and to exterminate all those, Great and Small, who do subvert the Orders of good

'Government, to prevent the spreading 'of their Contagion.

'We do therefore by these Presents, ordain and command all New Christians, 'without Exception, living or residing 'within the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia* and *Sevil*, and in the Town of *Hornares*, of whatsoever Age or Sex, as well Natives as Strangers, whensoever, or for whatsoever cause they came into them, Slaves 'only excepted, within 30 Days after the 'Publication of these our Letters, to depart 'out of all the Kingdoms and Dominions of 'Spain, with their Sons and Daughters, 'Men-servants and Maid-servants, and 'with all of their Family that are of the '*Morisco* Race; neither shall they at any 'time hereafter presume to return to live in 'them, or pass thorow them, or any part 'of them; and we do prohibit them to go 'thorough the Kingdom of *Valencia*, or *Arragon*, or to presume to stay in them: And 'in case any of them shall, after the Expiration of the said Term, be found in any of 'our Kingdoms and Dominions, they shall 'be punished with Death, and have their 'Estates confiscated, to be disposed of at 'our Pleasure; which Punishments they 'shall incur *ipso facto*, without farther Sentence, Process, or Declaration.

'And

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'And we do furthermore prohibit all 'Perſons, of whatſoever Quality, State or 'Pre-eminence, in any of our Kingdoms, to 'receive or entertain, or, after the Expira- 'tion of the ſaid Term, publickly or pri- 'vately, to protect any of the *Moriſcoes*, 'Men or Women, within any of their 'Houſes or Precincts, upon pain of forfeit- 'ing all their Goods, Vaſſals, Caſtles, and 'other Inheritances; as alſo, all the Gra- 'ces we have beſtowed on them, to our 'Treaſury.

'And notwithſtanding we might juſtly 'have commanded all the Goods, mova- 'ble and immovable, of the ſaid *Moriſcoes*, 'being the Goods of Traytors, guilty of 'Treaſon, both againſt God and Man, to 'have been confiſcate to our Treaſury: 'Nevertheleſs, being willing to treat them 'with Clemency, our Will is, That with- 'in the Term of thirty Days, they may 'ſell their movable Goods, and ſuch as 'do move themſelves, and may carry the 'Price thereof with them, but not in Mo- 'ney, Gold, or Silver, nor in Jewels, nor 'in Bills of Exchange, but in Commodities 'that are not prohibited, and which ſhall 'be bought of the Natives of theſe King- 'doms, and not of others, and ſhall be like- 'wiſe of the Growth of theſe Kingdoms. 'And the ſaid *Moriſcoes*, and *Moriſcaes*,

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'may, during the Term of the said thirty 'Days, dispose of themselves and such 'Goods, and may change them for the said 'Commodities and Fruits, and may, pay- 'ing the customary Duties, carry with 'them what they have bought, reserving 'all their immovable Goods to our self, to 'be laid out for the Service of God, and 'the Good of the Publick, as shall be judg- 'ed most convenient. We do declare, that 'We do take their Persons, and all their 'Goods, during the said Term, under Our 'Protection, and Royal publick Faith, that 'they may, during the said time, go about 'in Safety and Security, and may change 'or alienate the said movable Goods, or, 'which do move themselves, and may lay 'out the Price thereof, whether in Gold, 'Silver or Jewels, in buying the Commo- 'dities of these Kingdoms of the Natives; 'and that they may not, during the said 'Term, be any ways injured in their Per- 'sons or Goods, under the Penalties incurred 'by those that do violate the Royal publick 'Faith. And we do furthermore grant 'Power and License to the said *Moriscoes* of 'both Sexes, to carry the said Commodities 'and Fruits out of these our Kingdoms and 'Dominions, either by Sea or Land, pay- 'ing the customary Duties for them, pro- 'vided, as is aboveſaid, that they export

'no

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'no Gold, Silver, or ſtampt Money, or 'any other Commodities prohibited by the 'Laws of theſe our Kingdoms, either in 'Specie, or in Bills of Exchange, nor no 'other Goods and Fruits that are prohibi-'ted, only they may carry ſo much Mo-'ney with them as is neceſſary to the de-'fraying of the Charges of their Journey 'by Land or Sea: And we do command 'all the Miniſters of Juſtice of theſe King-'doms, and all the Commanders of our 'Gallies and Galleons, to cauſe all the 'foreſaid Orders to be obſerved and ful-'fill'd, and to yield all convenient Favour 'and Aſſiſtance to the due and ſpeedy Ex-'ecution of the ſame.

'And we do command theſe our Let-'ters, and all that is contained in them, to 'be publiſhed by the Mouth of a Cryer, 'that they may come to the Knowledge 'of all, and none may pretend Ignorance.

Given at Madrid, *the 9th of* December, 1609.

I, The KING.

Andrew de Prada.

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Notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* were commanded by this *Ban*, to *take all their Children with them*, the Marquess of St. *Germane* had a secret Order from the King, *To stop the Children, Male and Female, that were under seven Years old, of all the* Moriscoes *that fraighted Ships to carry them and their Families to* Barbary, *or to any Country that was not subject to the Pope.* But the *Moriscoes* having had some Intelligence of this Order, all of them that had Children under that Age fraighted Ships, or took their Passage for *France* or *Italy*; to which Countries the most of them never went; having after they were at Sea, made a new Bargain with the Masters of the Ships, to put them ashore in *Barbary*. And those that did go to *Italy* with their Families, made no stay there, but pass'd over to *Barbary* by the first Opportunity that offer'd.

The King having given leave to those *Moriscoes* to sell all their movable Goods, and all that did move themselves, and to carry the Price of those Goods away with them, in the Fruits and Manufactures of *Spain* bought of the Natives, tho it looked like a Favour, yet it was of very little Benefit to them; for being so limited, the Natives bought the *Moriscoes* Goods very cheap, and sold their own very dear.

As

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As the Barons of *Valencia* had done all that they were able, to have hindred the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, as the greateſt Evil that could have befallen them: So the Deputies of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, fearing that the ſame Blow was preparing for them, did, to prevent its being given, if it were poſſible, diſpatch *Don Franciſco de Aragon Conde de Luna*, and Doctor *Martin Carillo*, two of the ableſt Men in the Kingdom to Court, with Warmth and Freedom to lay before the King the great and innumerable Damages, publick and private, which *Arragon* muſt ſuſtain, if the *Moriſcoes* were all driven out of it. But tho' no Commiſſion could be executed with more Zeal, or with greater Diligence and Ability than this was at *Madrid*; the King's Brains were ſtunn'd ſo, with the Din the Bell of *Villila* had made when it rang it ſelf: And with the Stories he was continually plyed with from all Quarters, of freſh and loud miraculous Calls from Heaven, to expel all thoſe Infidels; that he was ſtone deaf to the loudeſt Remonſtrances made againſt it by the wiſeſt of his Subjects.

On the 29*th* of *May*, 1610. the *Ban* for the Expulſion of all the *Moriſcoes* in the Kingdom of *Arragon* was publiſhed by *Gaſton de Moncada*, Marqueſs of *Aytona*, *Vice-*

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roy of that Kingdom; by which *Ban* sixteen thousand Families were turned out of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. And on the same Day the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* in the Principality of *Catalonia*, was published by *Don Hector Pignatello*, Duke of *Monteleon*, the Governor: Which two *Bans* of Expulsion being almost Word for Word the same with that of *Valencia*, I shall not here insert them.

By a Letter bearing Date the 2d of *January*, 1610. the King gave leave to all the *Moriscoes* in *Old* and *New Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, to sell all their movable Goods, and go into *France*. But as there was not one *Morisco* Family that made use of that surprizing License, so had they offered to have done it, it is more than probable that they would have been stopt, this License having been granted for no other end, but to discover how the *Castilian Moriscoes* stood affected to the *French*, with whom the Court of *Spain*, to justify their Expelling of them, would needs have them to be in a Correspondence.

Upon the *Moriscoes* not having left *Spain* when they had leave, they were all expelled by the following *Ban*, which was published on the 11th of *July*, 1610.

The

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The King.

'WHen we commanded the Expul-
'ſion of all the new Chriſtians,
'and *Moriſcoes*, Men and Women, who
'lived in the Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Anda-*
'*luſia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, and *Ar-*
'*ragon*, for the Reaſons and Cauſes men-
'tioned in the ſeveral Bans which we did
'order to be publiſhed, we alſo gave Per-
'miſſion to all of that Race inhabiting in
'the Kingdoms of Old and New *Caſtile*,
'*Eſtramadura*, and *Mancha*, to go, if they
'had a Mind to it, out of theſe our King-
'doms and Dominions. But having been
'by divers ways certainly informed, that
'ſuch of them as have not made uſe of that
'Licenſe, are in a Commotion, and do go
'on ſelling their Eſtates with an Intention
'of leaving theſe Kingdoms; from whence
'it is manifeſt, that the *Moriſcoes* all over
'*Spain* are all alike diſaffected as to God's
'Service and ours, and the Good of theſe
'Kingdoms; and that all the Endeavours
'that have been uſed thorough a long Se-
'ries of Years to convert them, and the
'Examples of the Old Chriſtians, the Na-
'tives of theſe Kingdoms, (who do live ſo
'chriſtianly, and ſo loyally) have had no
'good Effect upon them: But on the con-
'trary, they have with a ſtrange Obſtina-

'cy

'cy and Obdurateneſs, entred into Con-
'ſpiracies againſt us, our royal Crown,
'and theſe our Kingdoms of *Spain*, and
'have ſollicited the *Turk* and other Prin-
'ces for Succours, with Promiſes to ſerve
'them with their Lives and Fortunes.
'Now although this undutiful Behaviour
'which is ſo offenſive to God, has been
'laid before us, by Men of great Piety and
'Learning, who have further aſſured us,
'that we were bound in Conſcience to
'remedy it, and might without any Scru-
'ple proceed againſt them, with the Ri-
'gour that their Crimes do deſerve, and
'ſo puniſh them all with Death, and the
'Confiſcation of their Eſtates, as Here-
'ticks, Apoſtates, and Traytors both to
'God and us: Nevertheleſs, we not being
'willing to uſe Rigour, but rather Cle-
'mency with them, after having recom-
'mended this Affair to God, whoſe Ho-
'nour is ſo much concerned in it, we have
'reſolved for the Security of our Kingdoms,
'and of our good and loyal Subjects, with
'the Advice of our Council of State and
'Prelates, and other prudent Perſons, zea-
'lous for God's Service and ours, to expel
'out of the ſaid Kingdoms of Old and New
'*Caſtile*, *Eſtremadura*, and *Mancha*, all the
'new Chriſtians of *Valencia*, *Granada*, and
'*Arragon*, that live therein, Men, Women

'and

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'and Children; it being reaſonable when 'any henious and deteſtable Crime is com-'mitted by ſome of the Members of a 'Society or Community, to diſſolve the 'Society for it, the leſſer Suffering with, 'and for the greater; or when any do 'corrupt Countreys, Cities, or Villages, 'that they be baniſh'd out of them, to 'prevent the ſpreading of their Contagi-'on.

'We do therefore by Virtue of theſe 'Preſents, or of a Copy of them ſigned by a 'publick Notary, command and ordain 'all the ſaid New Chriſtians and *Moriſcoes* 'of *Granada*, *Valencia*, and *Arragon*, living 'in the ſaid Kingdoms of Old and New 'Caſtile, *Eſtremadura*, and *Mancha*, Men 'and Women of whatſoever Age, or for 'whatſoever Cauſe they did come into and 'reſide in the ſaid Kingdoms, within 60 'Days after the Publication of this wri-'ting, to go out of *Spain* and all the Do-'minions thereof, with their Sons and 'Daughters, and all their Servants that 'are of the *Moriſco* Race; neither ſhall any 'of them hereafter ever preſume to re-'turn into them, or into any part of them, 'either to live or paſs thro' them; which 'Command is not to be ſo underſtood, as 'to expel any Chriſtians that are married 'to *Moriſcoes*, or their Husbands, Wives,

'or

'or Children, nor any of the *Moors* who 'have come of their own Accord from 'Barbary, that they might profess Christi- 'anity, nor any of the *Morisoes* that are 'Clerks, Fryars or Nuns, nor such of them 'as are Slaves of the Rebellion of *Grana-* 'da.

'And we do prohibit the *Morisoes* that 'are to be expelled, to pass thro' the 'Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Arragon*, or *Ca-* 'stile, but require them to repair to the 'Ports of the Kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Gra-* 'nada, and *Andaluzia*; and not to return 'into any of our Kingdoms upon pain of 'Death. And in case any of them shall 'after the Expiration of the said Term, 'be found in any of our Kingdoms, they 'shall be put to Death, and their Estates 'shall be forfeited and apply'd to such Uses 'as we shall judge fit: To which Punish- 'ments we do deliver them, as Persons 'condemned *de facto*, without any Process, 'Sentence, or Declaration.

'And we do prohibit all Persons, of 'whatsoever State, Quality, Preheminence, 'or Condition, publickly, or privately, to 'receive, entertain, or protect any *Morisco* 'or *Morisca*, after the Expiration of the said 'Term, in any of their Lands or Houses, or 'in any other Place, upon pain of forfeiting 'all their Goods, Vassals, Fortresses, and

'other

'other Inheritances, together with all their 'Pensions, to our Treasury. And notwithstanding we might justly have seized 'on all the Goods of the said *Moriscoes*, Movables and Immovables, as on the Goods 'of People guilty of Treason, both against 'God and Man; nevertheless, being willing 'to use Clemency with them, it is our Pleasure that they may, during the Term of 'the said 60 Days, sell all their movable 'Goods, and all that do move themselves, 'and carry their Prices with them, but not 'in Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels, nor in 'Bills of Exchange, but in such Commodities as are not prohibited, and are bought 'of the Natives of these Kingdoms, and of 'none else. And the *Moriscoes* and *Moriscas* 'may, during the Term of the said 60 Days, 'dispose of their movable Goods, and of 'those that do move themselves, and with 'the Price of them may buy the said Commodities and Fruits of the Country, and 'carry away with them those they so buy; 'their real Estates being forfeited to our 'Treasury, to be apply'd to the Service of 'God, and of the Publick, according to our 'Directions. And we do declare that we do 'take, and do receive them under our Protection, royal Security, and Defence, and 'do so secure them and their Goods, that 'they may go about safely, and sell, change;

'or

'or alienate all their said movable Goods,
'or that do move themselves, and may lay
'out the Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels,
'they receive for them, on Commodities
'bought of Natives of the Country; neither
'will we suffer any, during the said Term,
'to offer them any Injury in their Persons
'or Goods, under the Penalties suffered by
'the Violaters of the publick Faith.

'And we do farther grant License and
'Power to the said *Moriscoes* of both Sexes,
'to carry the said Commodities and Fruits
'out of these Kingdoms, either by Sea or
'Land, paying the customary Duties for
'them. And, notwithstanding it is against
'the Laws of our Kingdoms to export any
'Gold, Silver, or Jewels out of them, we
'do grant them License to export them,
'provided it be all registred, and the one
'half be paid to our Treasury at the
'Port where they embark, where an Offi-
'cer shall be appointed to receive it, as has
'been done by the other *Moriscoes* that
'were banished.

'And we do command all Magistrates
'and Justices, and all the Commanders of
'Gallies and Galleons, to see that all that
'is here ordered be observed and fulfil-
'led, and to yield all convenient Favour
'and Assistance to the due and speedy Ex-
'ecution of the same.

'We

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'And we do command theſe our Letters, 'and all that is contained therein, to be 'publiſhed by the Voice of a Crier, that ſo 'none may pretend Ignorance.

'*Given at* Aranda *the* 10*th of* July, 1610.

I, the KING.

Anthony De

The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians are not agreed about the Number of the *Moriſcoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time. Some ſay they were a Million; others, that they were nine hundred thouſand; but by the moſt they are ſaid to have been ſix hundred Thouſand Men, Women and Children, beſides the Slain and Detained.

This great loſs of People falling upon a Country, that was far from being overſtock'd with People before (which in Truth no Nation can be) and which beſides thoſe that were expelled, had few that were induſtrious, or that were skilled in moſt of her profitable Manufactures, it was ſuch a fatal Blow to *Spain*, that ſhe has not to this Day, nor is ever like to recover of it. For as it is viſible to every Body, that *Spain* is

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not a quarter peopled, nor is ever like to be, so long as she has such prodigious Numbers of Priests, Monks, Fryars, Nuns, *&c.* and has the great and constant Drains of the *Indies*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*: So it is no less visible, that her scantling of People are by their Pride and Superstition, more than by their Climate, made so lazy, that nothing, no not her being the sole Mistress of all the Treasures of the *Indies*, can ever make her rich. For those vast Treasures, tho dug and brought into *Europe* by none but *Spanish* Subjects, can never stay in *Spain*, while the *Indies* from whence they are brought, are supply'd with Goods, not manufactured in *Spain*, but in foreign Countries.

It was not long after these Expulsions, that *Spain* began to feel the bad Effects they had upon her, as is plain from a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618. to *Philip* the 3d. by a *Junta* that had been assembled by the King, to consider how the ruinous Estate of his Kingdoms might be remedy'd; the Memorial begins with the following Complaint.

'THE Depopulation and want of People in *Spain*, is at present much 'greater than was ever seen or heard of before, in the Reigns of any of your Majesty's

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'fty's Progenitors; it being in Truth ſo 'great at this time, that if God do not pro-'vide ſuch a Remedy for us, as we may 'expect from your Majeſty's Piety and 'Wiſdom, the Crown of *Spain* is haſtning 'to its total Ruin and Deſtruction; nothing 'being more viſible, than that *Spain eſta a 'pique de dar in terra*; that is, *is on the Point 'of falling flat on the Ground*, its Houſes be-'ing in Ruins every where, and without a-'ny body to rebuild them, and its Towns 'and Villages lying like ſo many Deſarts.

In the ſame Year wherein this melancholy Memorial was deliver'd to the King, the Duke of *Lerma*, the chief Author of all theſe depopulating Expulſions, was turned from Court, and out of all his Offices, his chief Confident and Counſellor *Don Rodrigo Calderon*, being committed at the ſame time to Priſon, was after two Years and a half Impriſonment, put to Death publickly in the great *Placa* of *Madrid*, the Duke his Patron's Head having been ſecured, by the Pope's having covered it with a Cardinal's Hat, after he begun to find himſelf in Danger, which was not many Weeks before his falling into Diſgrace.

His Brother the Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who had been a zealous Promoter of the Expulſions, died a few Days after

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the Duke was turn'd from Court, purely of Grief and Diſcontent. There was alſo one *Baltaſar de Sandovall*, Dean of *Toledo*, who was either Brother, or a near Kinſman of the Duke's, who after the Expulſions, was made a Cardinal by *Paul* the Vth, ſo that there were three Cardinals living at the ſame time of the Family of *Lerma*, which is more than any Family, the Pope's own Families not excepted, has to boaſt of. So great a Service was the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* reckoned to be by the Court of *Rome*.

King *Philip*, who died ſoon after, is ſaid by a famous *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, to have had his Conſcience, upon his Death-Bed, overwhelm'd with Horrours. And though we are not told by any, what it was that cauſed them, yet conſidering, that beſides theſe inhumane Expulſions, we read of nothing in his whole Life that was black or tragical: It may reaſonably be preſumed, that it was the Memory of the Expulſions that diſquieted his Conſcience ſo much. Neither is it any wonder that they ſhould do it. To have, contrary to all the Laws of Religion and Humanity, made above an hundred thouſand Families miſerable beyond expreſſion, being a dreadful thing to reflect on, when one is ſummoned by Death to

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to anſwer for it before the Divine Tribunal, where they are to have Judgment without Mercy, who have ſhewed no Mercy to their Fellow Creatures.

Death is, by a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, ſaid to have approached this Prince encompaſſed with Scruples ſo grievous, concerning his Government, that they made all his Joints tremble, and changed his Viſage ſo, that he looked ghaſtly: And after having lamented the Difficulty of Reparation, amidſt great Agonies of Spirit, he made Anſwer to ſome that exhorted him to *truſt in God's Mercy*; *I do truſt, but afterwards I fear, for tho God is merciful, he is alſo juſt.*

Immediately upon this King's Death, his Confeſſor, Father *Luiz de Alliga*, tho he was Inquiſitor General, was forbid the Court; and the Lands and Penſions which had been granted to the Duke of *Lerma*, and to his Kindred and Creatures, were all reſumed at once; and that Duke's great Confident, *Don Rodrigo Calderon*, was put to Death publickly at *Madrid*. We are not told why theſe three hard things were the firſt Actions of the young King's Reign; but it is not very improbable, that their having been the great Inſtruments in the gene-

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ral Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, to the depopulating and impoverishing of *Spain*, beyond Recovery, might be the thing that brought so heavy a Vengeance upon them from the Court.

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A

SERMON

Preached in the

Cathedral of *Valencia*,

By the Archbiſhop of that City,

On the *Sunday* after the *Ban* for the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* out of that Kingdom was Publiſhed.

Praiſed be the Moſt Holy Sacrament:

THough the Goſpel of the Day is full of Doctrine, teaching how we ought to love God and our Neighbours, which are the two

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Hinges whereon the whole Doctrine of the Gospel turns; nevertheless, I have not thought fit to spend the little Time that is allowed me, on that Subject, remitting it to some other Occasion; what at present offers it self in this City and Kingdom, and with which you are all acquainted, being more urgent. Neither do I reckon, that in doing so, I transgress the Rule that ought to be observed by those that ascend the Pulpit, but do therein rather comply with what the Spirit of God hath taught us; directing us to apply our Doctrine to the Occurrences of the Times; after the Example of skilful Physicians, and prudent Stewards, who have Recourse to the Distemper that is most dangerous, and the Affairs of the Family that are the most pressing. This St. Paul *advised his Disciple* Timothy *to do, instructing him in the Method he was to use in his Preaching.* Preach, *saith he,* the Word; *but does not tell what Word: On purpose to teach, that in this place, no other Words but those of God ought to be spoken, which only do deserve, by way of Eminency, to be called, The Word;* And which, *as our Lord saith,* giveth Spirit and Life. *But the Apostle goes on;* Preach the Word without being weary; *and with great Instance and Vehemence, and observe the Opportunity and Occasion, and let not your Words be as the Words of an imprudent Man; which the Holy Spirit compares to Spoils strow'd and scatter'd in the*

way,

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way, without Order or Conſideration. This Doctrine the Apoſtle himſelf learnt from what Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples. That he deſerved to be called the faithful Steward, who paid his Lord's Servants what was owing to them; and he the prudent, who gave them their Meat in due time and ſeaſon: *And St.* Chryſoſtom, *ſpeaking of this Place, ſaith,* Two things our Lord aſſigned here as neceſſary, and which do ſo depend the one on the other, that if the one be wanting, the other is of no Advantage; Faithfulneſs in looking after the Rents; and Prudence in diſpenſing Proviſions in their Seaſon: *And it is the Obſervation of St.* Hierome, *that when the Prophet* Malachy *ſaith,* The Prieſts Lips ſhall preſerve Knowledge; *his Meaning was, That the Lips of the Prieſt are to preach Knowledge, and to publiſh Doctrine in its Seaſon. We may therefore very well forbear to ſpeak at this time of the Man that was cured of the Dropſy, and rather treat of the preſent Novelty we ſee in this Kingdom; out of which his Majeſty has commanded all the New Chriſtians to depart, which is a thing of greater Conſideration and Importance, than ever happen'd to our Anceſtors, or than may ever be ſeen by our Poſterity. Let us therefore beſeech the Lord to aſſiſt us with his Grace, taking the moſt Bleſſed Virgin for our Interceſſor,* &c.

To

To treat hereof, I have thought fit to consider the Words of the Apostle St. Paul, *written to the* Galatians:

GAL. V. 12.

I wish they were cut off that Trouble you.

THE Holy *Apostle* had endeavoured to convert the *Gentile Greeks* of that City to the Faith of the *Gospel*, and a great many of them had given some Signs of their being converted; but thorough the bad Conversation of the *Gentiles*, among whom they lived, they had been disquieted, to the creating of great Disturbances in that City. The *Apostle* therefore, in order to remedy those Mischiefs, writes to them: And the first Remedy he prescribed, was; That for their Conservation, and for the Cessation of Disturbances, they should beseech the Lord, that the Infidels that troubled them might be cut off.

The word, *Utinam*, has a great Emphasis, signifying a most anxious and fervent Desire; as if he had said, I wish I could see those that trouble you cut off and destroy'd; O that God would be so gracious to me, as to

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to let me ſee thoſe that diſturb and ſcandalize you, driven out from among you.

Now ſuch an Affection and Deſire, is what all in general ought to have, it being an effect of that Zeal for the Honour and Glory of God, which is every one's Duty; being part of the *Command* of *Loving God*, which is the *Firſt Commandment* of the *Holy Law*. Zeal is the effect of that Love; ſo that where there is no great Love for God, there is little Zeal for his Honour; and by how much the greater ſuch a Love is, ſo much the greater is ſuch a Zeal. And as God's Love, which is infinite, is much greater than any other Love, ſo for that reaſon, God's Zeal is much greater than any other Zeal; inſomuch that he is called by way of Excellency, *The Zealot*; as we are told by one that knew much of God, and had ſpoke with him, as one Friend ſpeaketh with another; ſo that when ye hear the *Almighty*, the *Infinite*, the *Saviour*, the *Glorifier* named, you underſtand God; ſo when you hear the *Zealot*, you ought to underſtand it of God likewiſe. The Divine *Apoſtle* diſcovered his holy Zeal, in ſaying, *O that I might ſee thoſe that trouble your Peace expelled from among you.* A Wiſh worthy of an *Apoſtle* and Miniſter of God, and moſt acceptable to our Lord. And that it was ſo, our Lord would have St. *John* know from his own Mouth, by whom it

is

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is left written in the *Book* of his *Revelations*, for the Information of all future Ages. That holy and beloved *Apostle* saith, *On the Lord's Day*; a Day famous for having been consecrated by the triumphant Resurrection of our *Lord Jesus Christ*: As if we should say, our *Lord Christ* spoke to me on his own Day, on the Day whereon he received the due Reward of his Obedience; which was the *Lord's Day*. And he commanded me to tell the Bishop of the City of *Ephesus*, I know the Works that thou do'st, and the Troubles thou undergoest in thy Ministry, and the Patience wherewith thou endurest them; and leaving the most important to the last, I know likewise thou canst not bear with them that are evil. And in the same Extacy and Rapture our Lord Christ commanded him likewise to tell the Bishop of *Smyrna*, I know thy Tribulation, and how, though thou art rich before me, thou art poor in the Eyes of Men, and art spoken against, and outraged by those, who say, they are faithful, but are rather of the Congregation of Satan. So from what we have said, we may gather how acceptable a thing it is to God, that we should be zealous for his Honour, and for abhorring Evil Doers, undergo Trouble and Persecution.

And

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And this ſame Doctrine which Chriſt was pleaſed to declare to St. *John* by word of Mouth, he himſelf preached in Fact to his Apoſtles, and all the Faithful, and that not only once, but twice, and upon the moſt ſolemn Occaſions, and that on purpoſe to make his Followers ſenſible of its great Importance; and that we, Paſtors and Biſhops might learn of our Lord Chriſt, who is called by St. *Peter*, the *Paſtor and Biſhop*; and who, when he had Occaſion, ſhewed himſelf zealous for the Honour of his Eternal Father, to comply therein with the Will of a Zealot.

The Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, St. *Matthew*, and St. *John*, do give us an Account of a thing that happen'd twice to our Lord Chriſt. St. *John* ſaith, it happen'd once at the Beginning of his Preaching, after his having wrought his firſt Miracle in *Cana* of *Galilee*. And St. *Matthew* ſaith, it happen'd a ſecond time, four Days before our Lord was crucify'd; ſo that our Lord did, both at the Beginning, and End of his Preaching, teach us this Doctrine. Our Lord Chriſt, ſays the Evangeliſt, went into the Temple, and ſeeing that what was done there, was contrary to God's Honour, the Zealous God took the Cords, wherewith the Sheep and Oxen were bound, and having made a Whip of them, he went about ſhaking

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king it at those Cattle, and Men, driving them all out of the Temple; and as to those that sold Pigeons, he commanded them to be gone with them; and going up to the Tables of the Money-Changers, he threw them down upon the Ground, scattering about the Money that was upon 'em. Now let us consider this Fact, and we shall see, that besides its being the greatest Miracle that ever Christ wrought, for so St. *Hieron* saith it was, who affirms it to be greater than the raising of *Lazarus* from the Dead; the repressing of so many, and in the Sight of so great a Concourse of People, after such a manner, none of them offering to lay hold of him, or denying to obey him, notwithstanding they were at that time contriving his Death, being a thing, that nothing but the Almighty God could have done. But to pass over this, and come to that which Men and Angels do admire, that is, how it was possible for one, of our Saviour's Mildness, Modesty, and Composure, to do such a Work; to whip Men, to thrust them violently out of the Temple, to break Tables, and throw Money about, not appearing to be Actions suitable to the Benignity and usual Practice of our Lord Christ, of whom the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, that he should be patient, and gentle as a Lamb, and that when they should take his

his Cloaths from him, he would not open his Mouth, as was accompliſhed at his moſt Holy Paſſion; and who when he was curſed; curſed not again, when he was tormented, did not complain, having reſign'd up his Will to his Father Eternal, who judgeth juſtly, and yet this very mild Lamb, whoſe Patience and Silence under Injuries was ſo much admired by the perverſe Preſident, when there was an Occaſion offered of remedying things that were offenſive to God, turned fierce, and forgetting, as we may ſay, his Compoſedneſs, he changed the Mildneſs of a Sheep into the Fierceneſs and Boiſterouſneſs of a Lion. There is one word ſpoke by St. *John*, that in my Opinion, is worthy of our Conſideration, it being a ſatisfactory Account of this his Behaviour: That Diſciple ſaith, he remembred that it was written, *the Zeal of thy Honour*, that is, *of thy Houſe*, the Temple being the place where God was honoured, *has eaten me up*, that is, has maſhed and chewed me as a thing that is eaten, broken and chewed. From whence I gather, that the Diſciples being aſtoniſhed at this ſtrange Action of their Maſter's, and conferring together about what ſhould be the Cauſe of his having done a thing ſo contrary to his Cuſtom, what was ſaid by the Holy King *David* occurred to them, and what he had both

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both done himself, and had propheſied of Chriſt, of whom he was a Type, ſaying one to another thereupon, this Zeal is like that of the mild and patient King *David*, who was a King of ſuch Benignity and Clemency, that he alledged his Benignity and Clemency to God, who judgeth the thoughts according to Truth, knowing the Heart, who finding himſelf perſecuted, ſaid, Lord remember *David* and all his *Mildneſs*, which was ſo great after he was anointed King, that being perſecuted by *Saul*, to take away his Life, with that Eagerneſs wherewith a Fowler purſues a Partridge in the Mountains, when he had two Opportunities of having killed *Saul*, and was adviſed to it by his Companions, he would not do it, nor lay hands on him. But beſides this, hear another Inſtance of his Mildneſs: When a Kinſman of *Saul*'s met him, and curſed him bitterly, and caſt Stones at him, as one caſt off by God, *David* was ſo far from revenging this Affront, that he reproved one of his Company for offering to do it, ſaying, *Let him curſe me, ſince God would have him do it*. How clear a Proof is this of *David*'s Mildneſs!

But you muſt now hear ſomething of the Zeal that accompanied this Mildneſs, and the Fury wherewith he flew upon God's Enemies, who ſpoke Blaſphemies, and committed

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mitted Sacrilege in his Houſe; the Zeal whereof, ſaith he, has confounded me; and the beholding the Offences that are committed, has deſtroy'd me; the Abhorrence I have for thoſe that will not love God, being ſo vehement, that it has caſt me into an Hectick Fever, which conſumes me; neither did he only in his Life-time revenge the Injuries that were done to God, but at his Death he charged his Son *Solomon* to revenge them; ſo that in *David* we ſee, a King that is mild and rigid, merciful and ſevere, a Pardoner, and a Revenger, and that was both patient and zealous.

And I do now ask the Queſtion, whether Kings that are both benign and rigorous, ended with *David?* No, let us give thanks to God, for having given us a King with thoſe Qualities, and let us thank him a thouſand times for ſuch a ſingular Mercy. Who is able to expreſs the Modeſty, Mildneſs, and Benignity our Lord the King, *Don Philip* III. brought into the World with him, and which continued with him in his Childhood, and continues now he is of perfect Age? It is known to every Body, and all that have ever been in his Royal Preſence have felt it, and are aſtoniſh'd at it, and do publiſh it to all the World. And as this is the *Mildneſs* of *David*, ſo this

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great Mildneſs has been exerciſed, not only towards his own faithful Subjects, but towards Infidels and Traytors to his Royal Perſon and Crown. His Majeſty, from the hour he began his happy Reign, hath been extremely afflicted with the Offences done to God in *Spain*, by the *Moriſcoes* that live in it, who notwithſtanding their having been baptized, do follow the Law of *Mahomet*, teaching it likewiſe to their Children, and obſerving all the Rites of the *Alcoran* publickly, and deſpiſing the Ceremonies of the Holy Church, and deriding the *Sacraments*, *Images*, and other ſacred Things. All which Miſchiefs his Majeſty endeavour'd to have remedy'd with Mildneſs, and with ſo great Application, as if he had no other Buſineſs, procuring *Edicts of Grace* of his *Holineſs*, and writing to the *Biſhops* of this Kingdom concerning it; manifeſting likewiſe how earneſtly he deſired the Reduction of thoſe Infidels, by commanding Places to be erected for the Inſtruction of their Boys and Girls, and ordering a Junto of us to meet in this City, to find out ſome ways, if it was poſſible, to cure thoſe *Heretricks* of their Obſtinacy and Obdurateneſs, which was lamented by him with ſuch tender Expreſſions, as filled us all with Admiration and Confuſion; having likewiſe to facilitate this Converſion, made Offers of Rewards

wards and Privileges to thoſe that would turn: All which proclaims the Greatneſs of his Majeſty's Clemency and Benignity, as it does alſo the Greatneſs of the *Moriſcoes* Wickedneſs, who had ſhut the Door againſt the Truth of the *Goſpel*, and againſt all the Means that could be made uſe of for their Converſion. Theſe are the Demonſtrations of *David*'s, I mean, of our Lord the King's Clemency and Benignity.

Let us now caſt our Eye on the Zeal for God's Honour, which his Majeſty has joined with this his Benignity and Mildneſs. You muſt know then, that the King has been inform'd by true and certain Advices, that amidſt all theſe Endeavours uſed for the Converſion of thoſe People, they were plotting and ſending Embaſſies to the *Turk*, and other Heretical Princes and Potentates, who were Enemies to God, and the Crown of *Spain*, to invite them to invade and conquer it, offering them an 150000 paid Soldiers, and divers other Conveniencies: And that by theſe Promiſes made to encourage the Enterprize, the ſaid Infidels were ſo far engaged, that they were preparing all Neceſſaries to invade us the next Spring; ſo that within ſix Months we ſhould have had the *Turkiſh* Fleet, and that of our other Enemies upon our Coaſt, and muſt have ſeen *Spain* in a moſt forlorn and wretched

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Condition. For though thorough the Mercy of God, and the Valour and Power of the King, we trust those Traytors would not have been able to have compass'd their Desires; nevertheless, taking us unprepared we should not have been able to have succour'd all the Parts of the Kingdom, and so must necessarily have sustain'd great Losses, in the Destruction of our holy Temples, and by Sacrileges committed against the most holy Sacrament, and the Contempt that would have been put upon those Sanctuaries and Reliques, which are preserved in this holy Temple, and in other Churches, as the most precious of all Treasures, and in the Murder and Martyrdom of all of us that are now alive; and of our Children and Brethren; and finally, in having the Name of *Mahomet* venerated in *Spain*, and that of our *Lord Jesus* blasphemed. All which Evils we should infallibly have incurr'd, by having these domestick Enemies among us, who do thirst to drink our Blood, that they may make themselves Masters of *Spain*. For which reason the Spirit of God did counsel us by the Mouth of the *Wise-man*, *Not to have our Enemy near us*, nor to suffer him to sit by us; because he will undoubtedly endeavour to turn us out of our Seat, that he may take it to himself.

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You have now heard of, and do admire at the Mildneſs our Lord the King has uſed with theſe People, and at his Patience in winking at their Faults; let us now treat of his Majeſty's Holy Zeal and Reſolution.

His Majeſty finding all the Remedies he had apply'd to the Converſion of theſe People unſucceſsful, and that inſtead of profiting thereby, they were the more hardned in their Errors and Hereſies, he reſolv'd to uſe a Remedy, which beſides its being the only Remedy that remained, is ſo admirable and divine, that human Prudence, without a particular Light and Succour from Heaven, could never have found it out, for the Example of the World, and the Admiration of all that do, or ſhall ever live therein. Methinks I hear our Lord the King uſing the ſame Words with the Royal *Prophet*, in the 117th *Pſalm*, *The time is come, Lord, to do*; without telling what was to be done; to ſignify, that the Work was ſo admirable and amazing, that it would aſtoniſh the World when they beheld it, and that that Work would comprehend a great many other Works within it; as if we ſhould ſay, the Work of Works, the Enterprize of Enterprizes; for ſuch is that which we have now in our hands. Who my Brethren is able to exaggerate it with Words, or is able to conceive the Chriſtianity, the Prudence, the

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Magnanimity, the Grandeur, that are contained in this Work! For my own part, I find my self unable to express and dissect it, and so I shall give it over, and content my self with having said, that it is a Work worthy of such a King, and that such a King was worthy to be the Author of so Catholick and wise a Resolution.

And whereas all his Majesty's faithful Subjects do desire that the Effects of the Prudence and holy Zeal wherewith God has inspired his Royal Soul, may appear in his Government, as also the Effects of his Grandeur, and of the Power of his Royal Crown, so in this Work we see our desires abundantly comply'd with; which does not only equal all that has ever been done by his famous Predecessors, but exceeds them all, so as to eclipse them. And that you may be sensible of the Truth of what I say, it is fit you should understand, that the Expulsion of the *Moors* out of this Kingdom, has been a thing that has been much desired and endeavoured, by our Lord the King's Predecessors, tho never executed by them.

Let us begin with the first Conqueror, the famous King *Don James*, who being at *Calatagud* two and twenty Years after he had subdued the Kingdom of *Valencia*, was, as the History informs us, told by a Gentleman of his Court, *That there was News, that*

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one of the chief Men among the Moors *of* Valencia *had taken the Caſtles of* Gallineva, Pego, *and others*; at which, though the King diſcover'd he was troubled, nevertheleſs he comforted himſelf, uſing the following Words, *I am glad they have given us occaſion to drive them all out of the Kingdom, that where the filthy Name of* Mahomet *is invocated, the ſweet Name of* Jeſus *our Maſter, Redeemer, and true God, may be praiſed and adored.* And accordingly, on the Day of the *Epiphany*, in the Year 1262. the Command of the King was publiſhed in this very Church, *That all the Moors ſhould within a Month depart out of the Kingdom of* Valencia, This had no effect, by reaſon of the Wars that broke out with the King of *Caſtile*, Nevertheleſs, the ſaid Chriſtian and valiant King continued ſtill determined to baniſh them all, and did accordingly in his Will, which he made a little before his Death, charge his Son, King *Don Pedro*, to do it.

Don Ferdinand, who according to ſome Writers, was the firſt that was honour'd by the Church of *Rome* with the Title of *Catholick*, which has been ever ſince retained by the Kings of *Spain*, did likewiſe, as Hiſtorians tell us, command them all to be baniſhed; which is confirmed by what is related in the *Letters* writ by our Lord the Em-

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peror *Charles* the Vth, to the Lords of the Vassals of this Kingdom, in the Year 1525. in which the following words are to be met with; *After our happy Succession in these our Kingdoms and Dominions of* Spain, *the thing we have laid most to heart, was to cleanse them from Infidelity, imitating therein the Catholick King and Queen, my Grandfather and Grandmother of Glorious Memory, who took so much pains in that Matter. For which Reason we are determined, not to suffer any* Moors *to remain in any of our Kingdoms, otherwise than in Slavery.* To which Determination his Majesty was pushed on by *Pope Clement the VIIth*; who by a *Breve*, Dated at *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, the 12*th* of *May*, 1524. *exhorted him to procure the Instruction of the* Moors; *and in case they refused to be instructed, to command them all, either to leave* Spain, *or to be made Slaves.* The Result of which was, The taking of that Expedient which was so prejudicial to all, the baptizing of them; as imagining, that so soon as they were in the Bosom of the Church, they would all have become Believers. But Experience has shewed, how they abused that Sacrament, with great Sacrilege and Blasphemy.

Our Lord the King, *Don Philip* II. after he succeeded in these Kingdoms, had the same Desire, and accordingly, in the Year

Year 1568. he commanded the Prelates of this Kingdom to meet together to find out ſome Remedy; the moſt Reverend *Don Fernando de Loaze*, being at that time Archbiſhop of this Metropolis, in which Aſſembly there were ſeveral conſiderable Conſtitutions framed, which having been found to be of no Advantage, in the Year 1587. another Aſſembly was appointed, at which I was preſent, in which there were made ſeveral new Conſtitutions; after which, his Majeſty being ſatisfy'd, that all the Diligence he had uſed did ſignify nothing, and that they ſtill perſevered in their Hereſy, he reſolved either to have ſent them all out of *Spain*, or at leaſt, to have tranſplanted them into the Inland Countries, which would have been attended with the ſame, if not greater Inconveniencies.

Finally, the laſt Year, we, the Prelates, were aſſembl'd again by his Majeſty's Command, as you all know. Now from what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt that this Enterprize has been deſired by a Pope, an Emperor, and four Kings, who were all hindered from executing it, by the Greatneſs of the Work, under which they all ſunk, and were worſted by it. They were ſenſible of the Neceſſity there was of clearing *Spain* of them, acknowledging the evident Dan-

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Danger it was in, whilst those Domestick Enemies remained in it, but the *Moles* and Greatness of the Enterprize did so far conquer their Courage, that they were overcome by the Multitude of Inconveniencies which were represented to them, as the Consequences thereof. But this mighty Enterprize I do really believe was reserved by Divine Providence, on purpose to give undeniable Testimony of the Paternal Succor wherewith it attends the Actions and Person of our Lord the King. That that which a valiant Conqueror, a Catholick King, an Emperor, so much celebrated in the World, for the many Victories he gained over the *Turks* and *Hereticks*, and Catholicks too, that were his Enemies, and a King whose Prudence was so well known and admir'd, tho they desired it, durst not undertake, is now executed by our Lord the King, with so great Zeal for the Glory and Honour of our Lord God, with such admirable Courage and Prudence, that we now see it begun; and shall, by the Favour of God, see it quickly concluded and ended, and the Kingdom of *Valencia* recovered, not in many Years, as it was recovered by the *Christian* Kings, but in a few Months more. Does it not appear to you that I had reason to say, that this is the greatest Action that we have seen in our own, or have read of

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in paſt times. After this, how great Ingratitude would it be in us of this Kingdom, not to acknowledge with particular Thanks, the Mercy which God has ſhewn us, and the great Good his Majeſty has done for us, in beginning this noble Enterprize here? Ought we not to return Thanks to God, for his having choſen this, among many other Kingdoms, firſt to receive Safety? and to his Majeſty, for having been pleaſed to order us to be an Example to all his other Kingdoms, ſo as not to gain only the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes*, who were Natives among us, but alſo the Expulſion of the *Moriſcoes* of other parts; and that it will be recorded in the Hiſtory of *Valencia*, that it was the firſt Kingdom which for its holy Zeal deſerved to be freed from Hereticks, and which by a ſignal Demonſtration has given a Teſtimony of its innate Fidelity, in having obeyed with great Chearfulneſs what its King and Lord has ordained and commanded: In all which the Duke of *Lerma* has bore a great part, out of the ſingular Love wherewith his Excellency attends to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and of all that live therein.

Brethren, I am not able to expreſs how great a Comfort it is to me, to ſee and hear how this has been entertain'd by all in general; and particularly, by all thoſe that

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are interested therein, who, notwithstanding they must, as we all know, sustain great Damage thereby, have nevertheless, both by Word and Deed, yielded great Conformity to it, saying, That since this Expulsion will be so much for the Service of God, and his Majesty, they did not only reckon their Goods to be well lost, but did further offer their own and their Sons Lives therein. A Resolution worthy of most true Christians, and of most faithful Subjects. Methinks I have seen that which the Apostle, St. *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrews*, prised so much, *Ye have taken*, saith he, *chearfully the spoiling of your Goods*, he commends them for two things, which do both deserve great Praise. The first is, the suffering the Loss of their Goods, which is a great Work, but it is yet greater to take it with Chearfulness, which is not only good, but an heroical Work, and the Work of an Apostle. To see ones self rich to Day, and poor to Morrow, and to take that with Patience and Chearfulness for the Service of God and the King, is a mighty Work, and such as deserves to be acknowledged and rewarded. We need not weary our selves to prove this; that Example the holy Spirit has given us, and which is related by three Evangelists, St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, will do it abundantly.

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ly. St. *Peter*, with the freedom of a *Privado*, and *Favourite*, and as ſuperior to the reſt of the Apoſtles, ſaid unto our Lord Chriſt, *Maſter, behold we have left all that we had, and followed thee*, how will you pay us for what we have done for you? The Lord anſwered thoſe that had followed him, and ſaid, that he would do them great Honour, that they ſhould ſit with him to judge Men. And, not forgetting others who had, or ſhould at any time leave their Goods for his ſake, he ſaith to all ſuch, *they that have left Houſe*, &c. all the three Evangeliſts do put *Houſe* in the firſt place, and the *Greek* word here, as alſo the *Hebrew*, in *Pſal.* 123. ſignifies not only a material Houſe, but a Family likewiſe, and all things belonging to its Support; as Health, Honour, and Goods, and all things elſe; ſo that to leave the Support of a Family is an heroical Work, and ſuch as deſerves a great Reward. This the Nobility of *Valencia* have done, ſome loſing Vaſſals, and the Advantages they had by them, others loſing their Rents, and all this with Chearfulneſs, as thorow the Mercy of God we ſee, and for which I do return infinite Thanks, and do hold my ſelf unworthy to have ſuch Sheep. And whereas they have done this their part, they ſhall alſo partake of the Promiſe which our Lord Chriſt made to thoſe that have left their

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their Goods for the sake of the Gospel, as St. *Matthew* has it; or, who have left their Goods for the Kingdom of Heaven, as St. *Luke* hath it. None of them shall fail to receive *in this Life* much more than they have lost, *and in the time to come Life eternal.* This is what Christ our Lord has promised, who cannot be worse than his word, being not only true, *but Truth it self*, so that we may rest secure of having this Promise fully comply'd with, and that the Benefits will be innumerable, which will follow upon this holy and admirable Work; as will the Honour also, the greatest Honour that is being to live in the Company of Believers; and the greatest Dishonour and Disgrace, to have any thing to do with Infidels, who let them be of what Quality soever, even tho Kings, cannot be so much as looked upon, without some Disgrace and Disparagement. So the Prophet *Elijah* told *Joram* a wicked King of *Israel*, *As the Lord liveth, in whose Presence I am, had it not been out of respect to King* Jehoshophat *who is a Believer, and the Servant of God, I should not have regarded what you say, nor have seen thy Face, because thou art an Infidel.* Neither would the Prophet so much as salute him, because it would have been a fault to have done it; as it is in us to salute the Enemies of God, who are of the Number of those that do

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not confeſs our Lord Chriſt to be true God, which *Mahomet* did not. And of ſuch the holy Apoſtle St. *John* ſaith, *Receive them not into your Houſe, and ſay not God ſpeed to them, for they that ſalute them do in ſome manner partake of their fact.* What greater Honour can we have in this Kingdom, than to have all that live therein faithful to God and the King, and without any Mixture of Heretiks or Traytors? And of this Honour the Temporal Lords will chiefly partake, who hereafter may be ſtiled the Lords of faithful Vaſſals, which they could not be ſtiled before, but the Lords of Infidel Slaves. And as to the common People, what greater Good can they receive, or what that can be compared to their having the moſt holy Sacrament reſerved in the Church of every Village? What Honour, what Authority, what Comfort, what Eaſe, what Joy muſt this yield? This is that which makes Villages, tho never ſo ſmall, to be moſt illuſtrious Cities, and Royal Courts, not of the Kings of the Earth, but of the King of Heaven, this is the only thing that can be eſteemed Grandeur. And ſo the Royal Prophet *David*, deſiring to extol the Eminency and Majeſty of *Jeruſalem* for its having in it the Houſe of God, which was but the Shadow and Type of our Temples, ſaith, *Many admirable and glorious things we are a-*

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ble to say of thee the City of God. The same and greater beyond comparison can we say of every little Hamlet, where not the Ark of the Testament, and the Urn of *Manna*, but the true and living Body of our Lord abideth.

Ye are all Witnesses of the Incommodity it was to pious People, to go to their Villages where this great Consolation was wanting, which hereafter ye shall enjoy, and be possessed of the greatest Treasure in Heaven, which is the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ. And ye shall see your Churches which were full of Dragons and wild Beasts, filled with Angels and Seraphims. When this Expulsion is over, I do intend, if God spare me Life, to visit all the Places where the *Moors* lived, and having kissed the Ground of the Churches, to return Thanks to our Lord, for seeing them freed from so great Impurity, as they were defiled with by their treading in them; in conformity whereof I beseech all of you, that have Villages which have been inhabited by *Moriscoes*, or in which they have had any Houses, to make a great Festivity, the greatest you can possibly make on the Day whereon the most Holy Sacrament shall be lodged in your Churches, and to take care to adorn the Holy Altar where it is to be reserved, as much as you can possibly. This

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Care will be very proper for the Ladies and other pious Women, remembring the *Regale* which the two Siſters *Martha* and *Mary* made to our Lord Chriſt, when he came to 'em weary with having preached, and quite tired with the Infidelity of Men. It is the very ſame Lord you will now have in your Churches, and that not mortal and paſſible, but immortal, and impaſſible. *Regale* him therefore as much as you are able, and be ye tenderly affected with the Senſe of the great Mercy he ſhews you in condeſcending to dwell among you, after ſo many and ſo great Blaſphemies and Affronts as have been offered to him in thoſe very places where you will now have him. With this Conſideration you may kindle in your Hearts, a Devotion for the moſt Holy Sacrament, and thereby acquire innumerable Benefits.

I will tell you one thing farther, that ſome who are much the Servants of our Lord, and are learned too, are of Opinion, That the Reaſon why our Lord has ordained that this holy Expulſion ſhould begin in this Kingdom, was, that he might reward the Devotion that is in it for the moſt holy Sacrament, which is greater here than it is in any other part of *Spain*, as is manifeſt from the Feſtivities, Proceſſions, Illuminations, and Ceremonies which they perform on its admirable Feaſt; honouring it as

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much as humane Poverty and Weakness is able to honour the eternal Son of God, who continues among us, for the remedying of all our Evils spiritual and corporal. Neither is it a thing of small Consideration, that hereafter we shall all be quiet in our Consciences. But I do not care to insist on a Point, on which I have formerly said and writ a great deal, and could say and write much more of. For if the holy Scriptures dictated by the Divine Spirit do command us to abhor the Enemies of God, and if the Royal Prophet said, *That it threw him into a Fever, when he saw those that had transgressed the divine Law*, how shall we be able to answer for our having treated those Heretics familiarly, esteeming them as Friends, and being in Amity with them, notwithstanding we beheld them performing the Ceremonies of *Mahomet*, and we our selves did acknowledge them to be *Mahometans*, tho they had been baptized. Who among us has had the Zeal of *Matthias*, of whom the holy Scripture saith, *That when he beheld one of the People of* Israel *offering Sacrifice to Idols at the Commandment of the perverse King* Antiochus, *he was so set on fire by the Zeal of the Lord, that his Bones trembled, and flying upon him that sacrificed, and him that commanded him to do it, he killed them both.* This is the Zeal of a Servant of God, which is

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ſo acceptable to the divine Majeſty, that *Phineas* for the doing the ſame was commended of God. And *Moſes* ſaith, that tho he was determined to have inflicted a ſevere Puniſhment upon the People, he was appeaſed, and did remit his Wrath, *for the Zeal of Phineas* who killed the Tranſgreſſor of the Law of God. My Brethren, we had all need make a general Confeſſion, and I my ſelf ought to do it in the firſt place, who knowing the Blaſphemies of thoſe People, and ſeeing it with my Eyes, have lived forty Years in Peace with them. And notwithſtanding I might plead the example of other learned Prelates, who were much the Servants of our Lord, who have diſſembled and gone on with them, nevertheleſs had I been worthy of the Zeal of our Lord, ſuch Examples would not have ſufficed. A general Confeſſion of the Barons, and Lords of Vaſſals, is likewiſe neceſſary, who, tho when I treated with 'em about their Obſtinacy, and their obſerving their Sect openly, uſed to tell me, that it did not belong to them, but to the Inquiſition or the Ordinary, to puniſh 'em for it; nevertheleſs it is certain, that if they had had Zeal for the Honour of God, they would never have permitted it. A general Confeſſion is alſo neceſſary to all that have trafficked, and have had any dealings with 'em; for had you had a Zeal for

the Honour of God, and had esteemed it more than your Profit, you would never have been their Friends, but would have abhorred 'em, and fled from 'em. And I beseech all of you that know any thing of the Language of those cursed Creatures to forget it.

I shall have deferred to speak to what concerns Goods to the last, of which I know some have complain'd, but with the forementioned Moderation. It cannot be deny'd but that at first, until things are well settled, the Rents of the Lords of Vassals will be less than they were, neither will the Rents that were charged on the Villages of the *Moriscoes* amount to so much as they did: but how inconsiderable are these losses, which when compared to the benefits that will result from hence, cannot properly be called a Damage? So they who have sold Copy-holds, or Leases to buy a Mannor, tho their Rents may be lessened thereby, are not said by us to have done any Prejudice to their Estates, but rather to have improved them, as they likewise do, who do abate of their Pension to have them charged on Estates, where they will be more secure. This very thing has now happened; seeing both the Quality of Estates, and the Security of recovering the Rents of them, are to be reckoned beyond

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a greater Rent with a riſque of loſing it. And whoſoever will but truly conſider the imminent Danger we were in of loſing both our Eſtates and Lives, while thoſe People lived among us, will reckon himſelf happy, and to be in a better Condition, by having what remains ſecured to him. For as wiſe *Solomon* has it, *Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than to have great Treaſures with Strife and Fighting.*

Among the Felicities of the Sons of *Iſrael*, reckoned by the Spirit of God, in the Reign of King *Solomon*, one was, *That Men lived in ſafety, ſleeping under the ſhade of their own Vine and Fig-tree, having none to be afraid of.* Thus we ſhall be in this Kingdom for the future, where thorow the Mercy of God, and the paternal Care of his Majeſty, every thing will thrive with us, and the Earth it ſelf will grow more fertile, and will yield the Fruit of Bleſſing. It is a thing ye all know, that we have not had one Fertile Year ſince the time that the *Moriſcoes* were baptiz'd, whereas now they will all be fertile, the Land having been impoveriſhed, made barren, and poiſoned by their Blaſphemies and Hereſies, or with ſo many *Sins and Abominations*, as the Royal Prophet *David* hath it. Don't think that this is nothing but a fancy, ſince the Divine Scriptures do every where affirm, that for Sins, God deprives People

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of Temporal Blessings. Let us but live in the Service of our Lord, and observe his holy Law without wronging our Neighbour, and we shall abound with all good things. Hear what the Lord himself has said, *Obey my Commandments, and keep my Law, and I do promise, you shall live in the Land without fear; and the Land which you possess shall bring forth Fruit in such abundance, that you shall eat and be full*; and that *without* any *Fear*, but with an entire Rest and Security; and your Harvests shall be so great, that *the Reapers shall work until Seed-time, and the makers of Wine shall meet the Sowers, and ye shall build in places which were Deserts, and plant Vines, and drink of the Wine thereof, and sow Gardens, and eat of the Fruit of the Trees you have planted; and ye shall never be turned out of your Houses, saith the Lord.* All this the Lord has promised by his *Prophets*. I say again, We shall abound with all good things. For he who bestows upon us the Heavenly and Eternal Blessings of Grace, will not, saith the Royal Prophet, deny us Temporal and Earthly Blessings; for which Reason the Man may be called happy, *who trusteth in the Lord*. Let us do so, and be contented with what our *Lord* shall be pleased to dispense to us, giving him infinite Thanks for this Mercy.

And I a weak and miserable Creature, do humbly supplicate him to give me light, that

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I may know how to do it: And tho a great Sinner, I will venture to use the Words spoken by a holy Man, to whom I am like in being old, *O Lord, now let thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word*, for now having seen my Desires comply'd with, I am contented to die, whenever our Lord shall be pleas'd to take me, leaving my Churches free from the Impurities wherewith those Hereticks defiled them, and my Flock secure from the Treasons they were machinating; but above all, now that our Lord God will be adored and served, and praised for ever.

The singular Inhumanity of this Archbishop's Spirit, when he was just dropping into his Grave (for he was some Years above Fourscore when he preach'd this Sermon) brings to my Mind the Conceit that a certain *Jew* had, as he himself told me, of the Persons of all Inquisitors. It was, That tho they appeared to be Men, yet in Reality they were not so, but were Bands of Fiends sent from Hell to assume the Shape of Men, and all that belonged to them, except their Bowels: And accordingly he was positive, that no Inquisitor could possibly be saved; because, said he, they are not capable of repenting of their Inhumanities and Injustices. Tho

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I could not but smile, when he told me in sad earnest, that he did not in the least doubt of the Inquisitors being all literally Fiends incarnate; that extravagant Conceit being visibly the Effect of an extream Aversion created in his Spirit against the Persons of the Inquisitors, by the inhuman Treatment he had met with from them in the Inquisition of *Lisbon*, where he had been divers Years a Prisoner. Yet so far I cannot but agree with him, as to be positive, that a Mind capable of such a settled Wrath and Cruelty, as is to be found in Inquisitors, can have nothing of Heaven, in it; and that nothing but Hell and Popery has ever yet any where been able to inspire Flesh and Blood with a Spirit so inhumane, mercileſs, and unrelenting, as was the Spirit wherewith this Archbishop had for many Years persecuted the *Moriscoes*, and wherewith he triumphs over them in this Sermon, when they and their Families were under unspeakable Miseries.

But whatever extraordinary Gifts, for his having been the great Instrument of this Expulsion, the *Spaniards* might believe this old Persecutor to have had, they were all soon made sensible, or might have been at least, of his not having had the Gift of Propheſy; when he did, as it were, assure them from Heaven, that a continual Fertility,

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tility, and an extraordinary Encreaſe of People, Wealth, Honour, and Strength, and an uninterrupted Felicity in all her Affairs, was to be certainly the Reward *Spain* was to receive from Heaven, for an Action ſo meritorious and well-pleaſing to God, as was this General Expulſion: For on the contrary, is it not viſible, that ever ſince the time of that Expulſion *Spain* has grown dayly weaker and weaker, poorer and poorer, and more and more deſolate; and in all her Wars and publick Negociations, has been much more unproſperous, than ſhe ever was in any Age before. In a Word, is not the preſent Condition of *Spain* the perfect Reverſe of what ſhe was here promiſed by this old falſe Prophet, on purpoſe to encourage her to do ſo unwiſe and impolitick, as well as ſo unjuſt and inhumane a thing; which may be a Warning to all Nations, never to be canted into Methods, which muſt naturally end in their Ruin, upon any Aſſurances that may be given them by Knaves, or by hot-headed People, of miraculous Deliverances and Advantages on their account.

But now that I am here ſpeaking of the ſingular Inhumanity that is ſo viſible in the Spirit of Popery in all its own Concerns, I cannot but take notice of one plain Evidence of that Singularity; which is, its pur-

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purſuing all its Enemies beyond the Grave, at which the Rage and Malice of other Mortals is wont to ſtop; and that not only by its common vile Practice of groundleſs and monſtrous Defamations, but by not ſuffering their dead Bodies to be buried, no not in common Earth; or if they have been privately interred any where by their Friends, if they know of it, they are dragged by them out of their Graves, and thrown upon Dunghils, or on other common Places, to be eaten by Dogs, or by Birds and Beaſts of Prey. This is what Popery, where-ever it is uncontrouled, *France* not excepted, does to the dead Bodies of all Proteſtants, that die where it has Power. So that whether the Pope be *The Antichriſt*, or not, the Spirit of Popery is undeniably an Anti-chriſtian Spirit, in being the moſt mercileſs, the falſeſt, and moſt impudent Spirit, Fleſh and Blood was ever poſſeſſed withal; witneſs the Numberleſs Inhumanities of the Inquiſition, the numberleſs groſs Frauds and Forgeries it has made uſe of, and ſtill practiſes, to propagate and ſupport it ſelf, and the aſtoniſhing Effrontry wherewith, in Defiance to the cleareſt Evidences of their being Impoſtures, it bears down the World that they are indubitable Truths.

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Conſidering how ſtupid and dead a Worſhip Idolatry is in it ſelf; how it ſhould be able among Chriſtians, as well as Heathens, always to inſpire all that are devoted to it with a Rage and Fury a-gainſt all its Enemies, greater then is any where elſe to be met with, is a thing not eaſy to be accounted for: The only Cauſe of it that I can think of, is, the things worſhipped by Idolaters, being as ſubject to be defaced, or any otherwiſe abuſed, as are the other things of the ſame nature: For which reaſon, they that adore nothing that is ſubject to ſuch Accidents, cannot in the Way of their Worſhip, meet with any thing that is ſo provoking, or that can raiſe a Fury in them to that Degree, as the abuſing of an Image or a Relick enrageth all that adore them. Of this the Inquiſitors and Fryars have long been ſenſible, who whenever they had a Mind to have *Jews* or *Mahometans*, or *Albigenſes*, or any of the other Enemies of Image-worſhip, maſſacred, (which they have always deſired, as often as it could be done with Safety) have always raiſed, and confidently ſet about a Story, of their having, to expreſs their inward Contempt for Images or Relicks, or for a conſecrated Hoſt, put one or more of them to one vile Uſe or another: Which Report being believed, no

Death

Death was, by the enraged Adorers of those Creatures, thought to be bad enough for the Authors of such Profanations, or for all that were of the same Principles in Worship; for could the idolatrous *Ephesians*, if they had been told by *Demetrius* and his Fellow-Craftsmen, that the Apostle had a Design to set the City on Fire, have been thrown into a fiercer Rage than that they were in, upon their having been told by them, of his having spoken some Words to the Disgrace of the Image of *Diana*, which they worshipped with a most profound Veneration: So that until such time as Idols, or Images, or Relicks, or any other bodily Creature that is worshipped, are able to defend themselves from all Insults, or to punish all that have offered them any, their Worshippers will think themselves bound to do it for them, and that with a Rage proportion'd to the profound Veneration they worshipped them withal.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE Commons OF *CASTILE*,

In the Beginning of the

Reign of *Charles* the Vth.

Compiled chiefly out of Letters written by Eminent Perſons that were ingaged in thoſe Wars.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *LL. D.*
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

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THE PREFACE.

THE *Wars of the Commons of* Caſtile, *which broke out in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor* Charles *the* Vth, *tho they are mentioned in all the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, little more is ſaid of them, than that they begun in ſuch a Year; and that the Commons being at laſt diſperſed, and ſome of their Leaders being put to Death, all things were quieted again.*

The Shortneſs of which Account; conſidering how great a Revolution this was, and how full of uſeful Leſſons both for Princes and Subjects; I can attribute to nothing, but to the known Partiality of the Spaniſh *Hiſtorians for the Honour of their Country; on whoſe ſo much boaſted of Loyalty to their Princes, theſe Wars of the Commons were thought to reflect too much, to be tranſmitted at Large by them to Poſterity.*

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When I have said that this History is chiefly taken out of Letters written to Ministers of State by Persons of great Note, and such who were personally engaged in these Wars, I think I have said enough to recommend it to the Curious; who cannot but know, that the Materials of a True History are no where else to be met with so well; and especially in the Case of Civil Wars: In which, as both sides are commonly some thing in the wrong, so for that Reason the Wisest and Best Men on both sides are always the farthest from a blind Bigottry for the whole of their several Causes. And this Moderation never discovers it self any where so plainly, as in Letters written to Publick Ministers by their Confidents: For tho Publick Ministers may, in such Cases, industriously impose False Relations on others, they themselves must not be abused by such Relations.

This is the Case of most of the Letters, out of which the main of this History was Collected. They were written to the Lord Chancellor of Castile, *who was at that time in* Germany *with the Emperor, by his Great Friend and Confident, the Learned* Peter Martyr, *an Eye-Witness of these Wars; and One who, though he was very active in them for the Emperor, does every where condemn the Evil*

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Evil Counſellors by whom the Commons were provoked to take up Arms, much more than he does the Commons, for having taken them up after having been ſo highly provoked to it.

Being, ſoon after this Preface was publiſhed, informed by my worthy Friend Mr. James Fraſer, *who knows Books the beſt of any Man that I am acquainted with, that a Hiſtory of theſe Wars had been written by* Sandovall, *who was Hiſtoriographer to* Philip *the Third, and of that Hiſtory's having been tranſlated out of* Spaniſh *into* Engliſh, *and publiſhed by Mr.* James Wadſworth: *I deſired him; and ſome other of my Friends in* London, *if they happened to meet with that Hiſtory either in* Spaniſh *or in* Engliſh, *to be ſo kind as to help me to the ſight of it; which, about two Years after, was ſent down to me in* Engliſh, *printed by* Dugard *in* London, *in the Year* 1652. *In their Prefaces to this Hiſtory, we are told both by Mr.* Wadſworth, *and by Mr.* James Howell, *that it had not been long publiſhed in* Spain, *before it was called in and ſuppreſſed, and as that might be the reaſon why I had never heard of that Hiſtory; ſo the Reaſon that is given by both thoſe two Gentlemen, for its Suppreſſion, is the very ſame that I gueſſed to have been the Reaſon, why no ſuch Hiſtory had ever been written by any* Spaniard.

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In all the Substantials of these Wars, there is a perfect Agreement betwixt my History of them, and Sandovall's; *but as in mine, there are divers things which are not mentioned by* Sandovall, *who by all that I can perceive had never seen* Peter Martyr's *Letters, out of which the main of my History was extracted; so there being several Successes spoken of at large in* Sandovall, *of which we have only Hints in those Letters; to make my History the more perfect, I shall here and there make some Additions to it out of* Sandovall, *whose Judgment of those Wars, being much the same with that of* Peter Martyr, *I shall here set it down in his own words.*

In the first Section of his Fourth Book, speaking of the Articles and Ordinances sent by the Commons to the Emperor, to have them passed into Laws, Sandovall *saith,* Let every one judge what reason they, that is, the *Junta* of the Commons, had; for my own part I will neither excuse them nor condemn them, but only relate faithfully the Truth, which is as much as can be required of me, doing my Office. *And in the First Section of the Fifth Book, speaking of the Commons again, he saith,* Tho it hath been the ordinary Defect of other Commonalties to have but slender Forces, this was so powerful, that had there been the least good Conduct amongst them, and

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and ſome experienced Captains, Don *Carlos* hardly ever would have recovered the Crown of *Spain*. The Common People were to blame, and the Gentry not to be excuſed, for oppoſing and riſing againſt the Sovereign's Miniſters; yet we muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that they were valiant. 'Tis true, there were divers Exorbitances, Out-rages and Inſolencies committed; But what wonder is that amongſt a People that had taken up Arms, and laid aſide all Reverence for their Superiours? If we ſee an Army well diſciplined, the Souldiers ſubject and obedient to their Captains, Shall we ſay abſolutely all thoſe in that Army are Traytors? For my own part I would not, neither is it any ſuch great marvel that Children riſe up againſt their own Fathers; for if we look back to ſome Paſſages of our Country of *Spain*, what ſhall we ſee but the like unnatural Actions; the Factions of Princes, the Sidings of Grandees and private Gentlemen, who were ſo audacious, as to riſe in Arms againſt their lawful Kings? and yet they are not ſo ſpotted and foul, as ſome would make thoſe of the latter times appear to be.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE Commons OF *CASTILE*,

In the Beginning of the

Reign of *Charles* the V^th.

DONNA *Isabella*, the Sovereign Queen of *Castile*, &c. and Wife of *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, departing this Life on the *26th* of *November*, in the Year 1504, by her Death the Crown

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Crown of *Castile*, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging, descended to *Donna Joanna*, her eldest Daughter then living, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, eldest Son of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and at that time was in *Flanders* with her Husband, and her eldest Son *Charles*.

The Deceased Queen being sensible of her Daughter *Donna Joanna*'s Weakness, and much displeased with her Son in Law *Philip*, for having been a very unkind Husband, by her Will, made not long before her Death, constituted her own Husband, King *Ferdinand*, Governour of *Castile*, during the time of their Grandson, Prince *Charles*'s Minority.

But *Philip*, who was a brisk Prince, coming not long after with his Queen into *Spain*, did, with the Assistance of the *Castilian* Nobles, who were extremely weary of *Ferdinand*'s severe Government, oblige his Father-in-law to leave *Castile*, and go to his own Kingdoms. And one thing that made him the more angry with his Father-in-law was, That after he was above sixty Years of Age, he concluded a Marriage with a young beautiful *French* Princess, whose Name was *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Issue by her to succeed him in the Throne of *Arragon*.

But *Philip*, who had lived apace, dying a few Months after *Ferdinand* had left *Castile*; his Queen, whose Brain was somewhat distemper'd before, did, upon this Loss, sink into so deep a Melancholy, that those which were about her, had much ado to keep her from famishing her self. And, as during the whole time of her Husband's Sickness, she had never, tho she was big with Child, Day nor Night, stirred from his Bed-side: So having, some Days after he was buried, been told by a Monk, that he had read in some Legend or other, of a King who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen Years, she immediately commanded her Husband's Body to be brought into her Bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the Coffin, and laid it in a Bed of State with its Face uncover'd, she kept it 20 Years, after which it was taken from her and interr'd in the Cathedral of *Granada*. And when she was awake, she was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

And as the Queen's Fondness for her Husband (who had little deserv'd it from her) so her Jealousy of him was so much increas'd by his Death, that she would never suffer any Woman but her self to go near his Corps; nor none of that Sex, besides her old Servants and Confidents,

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to come within the doors of the Room where it lay: And having left *Burgos*, with a Reſolution never to ſee that, nor any other City any more, ſhe travelled in the Night by Torch-light, with her Husband's Corps drawn in a Herſe by ſix *Flanders-Mares*, from one obſcure Village to another, until ſhe ſettled at laſt at *Tortelas*; where, in a very mean Houſe, ſhe was delivered of a Daughter, without the help of a Midwife. For as there was no perſwading of her to lie in, in any other Room but in that where her Husband's Corps was; ſo ſhe would not hear of a Midwife, though never ſo ancient, being brought into it.

The Breath was not well out of *Philip*'s Body, when the Grandees were all to pieces, about the Adminiſtration of the Government, during Prince *Charles*'s Minority. The Nobles who had appear'd moſt forward in driving *Ferdinand* out of *Caſtile*, talked high againſt his being recalled to be their Governour; alledging, That if his Government was grievous to the Nobles before, it would be much more ſo now, after he had been ſo highly provoked, by their having joined with *Philip* againſt him. His being married to the Princeſs *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Iſſue by her, was likewiſe urged as an

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unkind thing to the Posterity of their Queen *Isabella*; and which, if he were its Governour, might prove of dangerous consequence to *Castile*.

The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom, did always give very pertinent Answers; being addressed to, to know to whom she would have the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms committed, is said to have answer'd, *My first born Son and Heir* Charles *is too young to administer the Government himself, and* Maximilian *my Father-in-law, cannot well leave the Empire, and his own Hereditary Dominions; or if he would, he is altogether a Stranger to the Tempers and Customs of my People, which are all perfectly understood by my Father, who has with great Toil and Danger much enlarged my Territories.* But when she was desired, after so wise an extemporary Answer, by a Publick Instrument to constitute her Father Governour of *Castile*, during her Son's Minority, not a Word more was to be had from her; neither would she to her dying Day, ever be perswaded to put her Hand to any Writing, or to give any Reason, why she would not do it; only on other occasions, she would sometimes say, *That it was scandalous for the Widow of a good Husband, to let any thing trouble her Thoughts, but the memory of her great Loss.* Car-

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Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, the wisest and most disinterested Statesman, that *Spain*, or perhaps any other Kingdom, ever had, at first seemed to agree with the Nobles, to exclude *Ferdinand* from the Regency; to which his near Relation to the Prince gave him so good a Title; but being sensible that no Man was so fit as *Ferdinand* to govern *Spain* at that time, he so managed the Council of State, that he prevailed with them to send to *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Naples*, to desire him to come and take upon him the Administration of the Government, during the time of his Daughter's Indisposition, and of his Grandson's Minority. And though the Queen would not be perswaded to give any countenance to his coming, by Writing a Line to invite him; yet being desir'd by his Ambassador at her Court, to order Publick Prayers and Supplications to be made in all the Churches, for his safe Arrival in *Castile*, she made Answer, *It should be done*; and added, *that she doubted not but that God would both give her Father a prosperous Voyage, and would bless him in the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms.*

Ferdinand being arrived in *Castile*, went directly to visit his disconsolate Daughter; and though the place he found her in, was ex-

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extremely incommodious, both for her ſelf, and the Court, he had much ado to perſwade her to leave it, to go to *Santa Maria de Campo*, from whence he intended to have moved her to *Burgos*, and to have fix'd her there, ſo ſoon as the Caſtle of that City (which was held out againſt him, by one *Emanuel*, the great Favourite of King *Philip*) was reduced. But the Queen, when ſhe came to *Arcos*, ſuſpecting that her Father intended to carry her to *Burgos*, would not go a ſtep further; telling him, *That ſhe was reſolved never to ſee the Place any more, wherein ſhe had been ſo unhappy as to loſe the beſt of Husbands.* And though *Arcos* was a Town of bad Air, and very inconvenient for the Court, it was five Months before he could perſwade her to leave it, to go to *Toraeſillas*, a pleaſant Village, and wherein ſhe had a Palace in the Neighbourhood of *Valedolid*. But having at laſt prevailed with her to remove, ſhe travelled all the way by Night, with her Herſe; ſtopping ſtill at the firſt Houſe ſhe met with, tho it was a Cottage, after the Day began to dawn, and remained there till it was dark Night: And when ſhe was deſired by her Father, who accompanied her, not to feed her Melancholy by travelling after ſuch a diſmal manner; all the Anſwer he could have, was, *That the*

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the Sun ought never to ſee a Woman after ſhe was ſo unfortunate as to be a Widow.

It was happy for *Spain* that it had *Ferdinand* for its Governour at this time. For beſides, that during his 9 Years Regency of *Caſtile*, he kept it in perfect Peace at home; in that time he obtained for it of the Pope, the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Navar:* By means of which conſiderable Acceſſion, and the immenſe Treaſures of Gold, Plate and Jewels, which were yearly imported from the *Indies*, *Spain* was never in ſo rich and flouriſhing a Condition, as it was in, at the time of *Ferdinand*'s Death; who died at *Madrugall*, on the 23*d* of *January*, 1516. And by his Death, he having had no Children by his young Queen *Germana*, the Crown of *Arragon* deſcended to his Daughter, the Queen of *Caſtile*. *Spain*, after *Ferdinand*'s Death, was wiſely governed by Cardinal *Ximenes*, until Prince *Charles*, who was juſt then of Age, arrived (which was not till 18 Months after his Grandfather's Deceaſe.) This Delay was looked on by the *Spaniards* as a Trick of the *Flemings* to draw Money out of *Caſtile*; but whether that was ſo or not, it is certain that *Flanders* has been ever ſince drawing ſuch Sums of Money from thence, that it had been happy for *Spain*, never to have had any thing to do with it. Never

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Never was any Prince more welcome to a People, than *Charles* was to the *Spaniards* when he first came among them; the great Character had been given of him by all that came from *Flanders*, having made the *Spaniards* expect him with great Impatience, who promis'd themselves all manner of Happiness under the Government of so hopeful a Prince: But *Charles* had not been a Year among them, before he had lost their Hearts to a degree none of his Ancestors had ever done before, through his being absolutely govern'd by his *Flemish* and *French* Ministers; and above all, by the *French* Lord *Philip Crovi de Chevers*, who had been his Governour, and who, tho otherwise a very great Man, was insatiably covetous. He was Duke of *Sora* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards Duke of *Arschot* in *Brabant*, and was descended of the Kings of *Hungary*.

The first thing *Charles* did after he Landed, was the Discharging of his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Governour, and Præceptor, and all his other *Spanish* Servants, and placing *French* and *Flemings* in their room; which change, as it was heinously taken by the Infante himself, so it was highly resented by the *Spaniards* (to whom *Ferdinand*, who had been bred among them, was very dear) as an Affront put upon their

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their Nation. This Order was executed by Cardinal *Ximenes* a few days before he died; by whose Death the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which, next to the Papacy, is the richest Dignity in the *Roman* Church, (being commonly reckoned to be worth fourscore thousand *English* Pounds *per Annum*) becoming vacant, it was begg'd by *Chievers*; who obtain'd a Promise of it from the Prince for his Nephew *William de Croy*, who, tho he was then Bishop of *Cambray*, was but a very young Man: By which strange Promotion, made so soon after the Prince came among them, the *Spaniards* plainly perceived how great both the Power and Impudence of the Northern Ministers were, in having dared, so soon, to lay their Hands on the highest and richest Dignity of the Kingdom.

The Prince, and his Sister *Donna Leonora*, whom he had brought with him from *Flanders*, made no Stay any where until they came to *Tordesillas*, where their Mother was, and where she had been above ten Years, without having once stirred out of the Room where her Husband's Corps lay. She is said to have received her Son and Daughter with great Tenderness, and to have entertained them with some Discourse. Whilst the Prince was with his Mother at *Tordesillas*, his natural Uncle, who was Arch-

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Archbiſhop of *Saragoca*, and who, had the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo* became vacant, during the time of his Father *Ferdinand*'s Government, was to have had it, came to wait upon him, to congratulate his ſafe Arrival in *Spain*: But the Prince ſuſpecting that his Buſineſs was to beg the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, commanded him, without having ſeen him, to leave *Tordeſillas*, and to go to *Valedolid*, and to wait there for him; fearing, it is like, that if he had remain'd any time at *Tordeſillas*, he might have found ſome Opportunity to have ſpoken with the Queen, and to have begg'd it of her. The Archbiſhop, who was a Man of a great Spirit, ſo reſented this unkind Entertainment, that leaving *Tordeſillas* in a Rage, he went directly to *Arragon*, of which Kingdom he had been Viceroy ſome Years before, and ever ſince his Father's Death.

A *Cortes* or *Parliament* meeting at *Valedolid*, on the *5th* of *February*, 1518. the firſt thing propos'd to it, was, whether, conſidering the Queen's Indiſpoſition, the Adminiſtration of the Government ſhould not be committed to her eldeſt Son, Prince *Charles*. But tho this was preſently and unanimouſly agreed to, the ſecond thing propos'd, which was, whether during his Mother's Life he ſhould have the Title of King, or only that of

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of Prince Regent, bore a long Debate. However, it was concluded at laſt, that he ſhould preſently have the Title of King, but ſo, that all Publick Acts ſhould run in both their Names. The uſual Oaths of Governing according to Law, and of not infringing or violating any of the Liberties or Privileges of the Subjects, having been taken by the King, the *Cortes* was moved to give Money to defray the Charges of the Government, which were repreſented to be very great at that time. But the Commons, before they would part with any Money, inſiſted on having two old Laws revived: The one was, *That none but Natives of* Caſtile *ſhould be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State:* And the ſecond was, *That it ſhould be Death to ſend Money out of the Kingdom.* But the Northern Miniſters, at whom theſe two Proviſions were levelled, by the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of *Badaiox*, (who had been the King's *Spaniſh* Præceptor in *Flanders*, and of *Garcia Padilla*, Commendator of *Calatræva*) ſo managed the *Cortes*, as to prevail with the Majority, both to drop thoſe Proviſions, and to grant the Sum that had been demanded, and which is ſaid to have been the greateſt that was ever given by any *Cortes*. And tho this great Donative (for ſo all the Money that is given by

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a *Cortes* is called by the *Caſtilians*) was not to have been paid in leſs than three Years; it was, with the Deduction of an high Intereſt, advanced immediately by the *Italian* Bankers of *Valedolid*; and, as was univerſally reported, was, as ſoon as it was received, diſtributed by the King among his Northern Miniſters, and by them ſent into *Flanders* in Specie. Several of the great Cities, but above all that of *Toledo*, being very angry with the *Cortes*, for having given the King ſo great a Sum of Money before he had conſented to the reviving of the two fore-mentioned Laws, did, aſſoon as the *Cortes* was diſſolved, ſend Commiſſioners to Court to remonſtrate againſt Strangers being preferred, and ſuffered to ſend Money out of the Kingdom; offering to prove, that in leſs than a Year, eleven hundred thouſand Ducats had been ſent by the Northern Miniſters out of *Caſtile* into *Flanders*. But the young King being poſſeſs'd by thoſe Miniſters, that the *Spaniards* were a People not to be governed but with a Rod of Iron, turned a deaf Ear to all ſuch Remonſtrances, diſmiſſing the City-Commiſſioners with Threats, as Perſons diſaffected to his Government.

Emanuel, King of *Portugal*, having at this time, by his Ambaſſador, deſired *Donna Leonora*, the King's Siſter, for his Wife; this

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this Propoſition was had in deteſtation by all the *Caſtilians*: For beſides that *Emanuel* had been married to two of her Aunts, and had Children by them both; he was old enough to be her Grandfather. But notwithſtanding all the World cried ſhame at ſacrificing ſo young and beautiful a Princeſs to *Chevers*'s Covetouſneſs (who was known to have received one and twenty thouſand Ducats, by order of the *Portugal* Ambaſſador from a Banker of *Valedolid*.) The Match was concluded, and the Infante ſent to *Portugal*, attended by *Chevers*'s Lady, who had been her Governeſs, and who was ſaid to have received a great Reward there, for having perſwaded that Princeſs to ſo unequal a Match.

Chevers obſerving the Diſcontents of the *Caſtilians* againſt the Government to run very high, perſwaded the King to ſend his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Flanders*, and to appoint Mr. *Buere*, a *Flemiſh* Nobleman to attend him, in quality of his Governour. The thing that helped *Buere* to this remote Employment, was, his having called *Chevers a Traytor to his face, for having ever ſince he came into* Spain, *ſacrificed all the King's Intereſts to his own and his Lady's inſatiable Avarice.*

The King having thus diſpoſed of his Brother, and eldeſt Siſter, had his Poſthu-

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mous Sister, *Donna Catherina*, stol'n from her Mother, with whom, ever since she was born, she had been mewed up in a dark Room. But the Queen, when she came to miss her Daughter, was so discomposed, that she vowed never to eat or drink till her Child was restor'd to her again; which at the end of two days, the King was forc'd to do, his Mother having during that time neither eat, drunk, nor slept.

The Cardinals Hat the King had obtained of the Pope for *Adrian* a Dutchman, who had been his Præceptor, and to whom *Tortosa*, one of the richest Bishopricks in *Spain*, had been given, being brought to *Valedolid*; the King and the whole Court were present at the Solemnity of *Adrian*'s receiving it. And though *Adrian* was, and deservedly, the best belov'd by the *Spaniards* of all the *Northern* Ministers, yet the Clergy reckoning that this Hat was, at *Rome*, placed to the *Spanish* account, they were extremely incensed to see all their highest Ecclesiastical Dignities thus conferr'd on Strangers: For such they reckoned the *Flemings* to be, though the King's natural born Subjects.

It was not long before the Clergy let the King know how much they resented his having bestow'd the richest and highest Eccle-

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Ecclesiastical Dignities on Foreigners. For being assembled presently after by the Cardinal *Adrian*, to settle the Payment of the Tenths of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices and Promotions in *Castile*, which had been given to the King by the Pope, by their Prolocutor they told the Cardinal plainly, That as they were not oblig'd to pay those Tenths, but when *Spain* was actually invaded by Infidels, so since that could not be pretended now, they were resolved not to pay them. Neither did they, tho much urged to it by the Cardinal, and by several Great Lawyers sent to them by the King, who endeavour'd to satisfy them of their being bound to pay those Tenths, they having been granted to the King by the Pope, (who was Lord of all Ecclesiastical Benefices) and being necessary to carry on a War against the *Turks*, who were by Sea as well as by Land growing formidable to all *Christendom*.

The King being settled in the Throne of *Castile*, went next to *Saragoca*, the Metropolis of *Arragon*; where having assembled a *Cortes*, that Assembly was according to Custom, opened by a Speech made to them, by an Officer, call'd, *The Pronotary of the Kingdom*: Wherein he desired *the Cortes, to take into their Consideration the state of the Kingdom, and how the Government was to be*

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administred, now their Queen was so much indispos'd. The discontented Archbishop of *Saragoca* made answer, *That as the* Arragoneses *had always been faithful to their Princes, so they would now take time to consider of what was fit to be done by them in their present Circumstances.* But though he did all that he was able, to have obstructed the King's Business, the Government was settled in the same manner as it was in *Castile*, and the King took the usual Oath of maintaining to the *Arragoneses* all their Liberties and Immunities, which at this time were the greatest that were enjoyed by any People under a Monarchy. After this, the *Cortes* being moved to supply the King with Money, and to do it with expedition, they made answer, *That it was not their Custom to give Money before the Grievances of the Kingdom were all redress'd, and the Debts owing from the Crown to the Subjects stated, in order to be paid.* Upon which two Heads the *Cortes* spent so much time, that the King having received Advice of the Death of his Grandfather *Maximilian*, sent a Message to them, to let them know, That if they did not quickly dispatch the Affairs they had in hand, he should be forc'd to leave them undone, being in great haste to go to *Germany*, to secure the Imperial Crown to himself, and to his Family, in which it had

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had been ſo long; and that the more, becauſe the *French* King pretended to it, who, if he ſhould gain it, would be a much more dangerous Neighbour to *Spain* than before. Upon which Meſſage, tho the Donative which had been demanded was granted, yet ſo much of it was appropriated to the Payment of Crown Debts, and other publick Uſes; that but little remain'd for the King to diſpoſe of.

From *Saragoca*, where he had met with much Trouble, and but little Money, the King went to *Barcelona*, the Metropolis of *Catalonia*, where he met with leſs Money and more Trouble; being detain'd there nine Months before the *Cortes* of that Principality had ſettled him in the Government, and given the Donative which he had demanded. And when they did give it, they appropriated it ſo to the Payment of publick Debts, that when they were all diſcharged, there remain'd but five and twenty Pounds for the King's own Uſe, who had ſpent near a Million of *Caſtilian* Ducats, which are more than *Catalonian* Pounds, among them. And whereas ſeveral of thoſe Debts were of a very long ſtanding, the *Catalonians* being ask'd by the Miniſters what they meant by reviving ſuch old Debts, made Anſwer, that perceiving how the *Flemiſh* and *French* Miniſters,

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by whom the King was governed, were come into *Spain* as into an Enemy's Country, intending after they had plunder'd it of all they could lay their Hands on, to return with its Spoils to *Flanders*; they judg'd it was time to see those publick Debts discharged, which out of Affection to their former Princes who had lived among them, and had been as Fathers to them, they had let sleep so long. The *Catalonians*, and all the rest of the *Spaniards*, complain'd likewise very much of all Offices being sold by *Chevers* and his Lady, which they said was a Practice had never been heard of before in *Spain*.

Whilst the King was detain'd at *Barcelona*, he received the News of his being chosen Emperor, and was desired by the Envoys sent to him by the Imperial Diet, to make haste to come to them. The *Spaniards* were so far from rejoicing at this News, that they said it was one of the worst things that could have befallen *Spain*, which by this Means would become as a Province to *Germany*, where their King would reside for the most part, to the draining of *Spain* of all its Treasure, to support an high, empty foreign Title. But the young King, who had other Thoughts of it, was in such haste to go to *Germany*, that he put off his Journey to *Valencia*, whither he was to have gone

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gone next, sending the Cardinal *Adrian* thither, to acquaint them with the Reason why he did not come to them as he had design'd; and to desire them, after the Example of *Castile* and *Arragon*, to settle him in the Throne.

But when the Cardinal came with this Commission to *Valentia*, he found that City turned upside down; the Citizens having a few Days before turned all the Nobles save one (who they said was an honest Man) out of the City, and committed the Government of it to the 96 Syndicks or Wardens of the 48 Companies of Tradesmen, to whom the Cardinal addressing himself, and acquainting them with his Business; they told him, That *the Constitution of their Government was such, as did not permit them to own the Prince to be their King, before he was declared to be so by a* Cortes, *and had taken an Oath to govern them according to Law.* And when they were told by the Cardinal, that the King had taken that Oath at *Barcelona*, in the Presence of their Commissioners, they reply'd, *That would not do, and that they would send Commissioners to the Prince to let him know so much, and to acquaint him with their Reasons why they had turned the Nobles out of their City, whose Tyranny, they said, was grown insupportable to Men that were free born.* And

accordingly they dispatch'd a substantial Shoemaker and Carpenter to the King; who waiting on him at *Saragoca*, as he was returning to *Castile* for a fresh Supply of Money, were well received by him, and dismissed with a Promise, that so soon as he returned from *Germany*, he would come and hold a *Cortes* among them, and make such Laws as should secure them from being tyrannized over by the Nobles. And in the mean while he ordered the Vice-chancellor of *Arragon*, and one *Garcias*, an eminent Lawyer, to go to *Valencia*, and examine the Matters in Difference betwixt the Nobles and the Commons, and to make a true Report of them to those he should name to determine them.

The King being in great want of Money when he returned to *Valedolid*, called a new *Cortes*. And to make the *Castilians* sensible of his being highly displeased with them, he appointed that *Cortes* to meet at the *Groin*, a Sea-port Town in the Province of *Galicia*, where as soon as he was supply'd with Money, he design'd to embark for *Flanders*. But upon the *Castilians* remonstrating against the assembling of their *Cortes* in a remote Province, that had not so much as one Vote in it, as the most unreasonable thing that had ever been done by any Prince, he threatned that if they did

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did not behave themſelves more dutifully, and ſend ſuch Procurators to the *Cortes* he had called, as ſhould grant him as much Money as he had Occaſion for, he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of *Caſtile*, into that loyal Province. By which ſtrange Acts and Threatnings the *Caſtilians*, out of whoſe Purſes the Money given by that *Cortes* was to come, were ſo incenſed, that they every where ſaid openly, *That they were treated by their* Flemiſh *King and his Countrymen more like Slaves, than like free-born Subjects. The commanding a* Caſtilian Cortes *to meet in* Galicia, *and the demanding of a new Donative before the time was expired, wherein the former was to have been paid; and the commanding all Cities and Towns to ſend ſuch Procurators to that remote* Cortes, *as ſhould grant all the Money that ſhould be demanded of them; and threatning them if they did not, to remove all the Courts of Judicature out of the Kingdom; they ſaid was a Language no* Caſtilian *Kings had ever ſpoken to their Subjects in before, and was indeed to rule them with a Rod of Iron, which one of his Northern Miniſters had been heard to ſay was the only way to govern* Spaniards.

The Citizens of *Valedolid* (who ſo long as they had the Queen in their Neighbourhood, expected to have both the Court and the

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the *Cortes*, when it met, ſtill in their City) were ſo enraged by theſe ſtrange Doings, and ſeveral Stories that were grafted upon them by diſcontented Spirits, that they took up Arms, reſolving not to ſuffer the King to go without their Gates, before he had changed both his Meaſures and his Counſellors. But the King not being willing to change either the one or the other, taking the Advantage of a tempeſtuous Night, when the Streets and Gates were thin guarded, got out of Town; and having made his Mother a ſhort Viſit at *Tordeſillas*, rode Poſt to *Compoſtella*, where he thundred out a Proclamation againſt the City of *Valadolid*, *Declaring that City, for the Violence they had offered to his Royal Perſon, to have forfeited its Charter, and all its Privileges; and commanding all its Markets and Fairs to be kept in other Places.* From *Compoſtella*, having paid his Devotions to the Body of St. *James the Apoſtle*, the Patron of *Spain*, he went to the *Groin*, where he was waited upon by *Don Peter de Laſſo a vega*, and *Don Alonſo Sylva*, who were ſent by the City of *Toledo*, to proteſt againſt the Aſſembly call'd by the King at the *Groin*, as no lawful *Cortes*; as alſo, to let the King know that his having nominated a Stranger to be their Primate, was againſt the Laws he had taken an Oath to obſerve.

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This Meſſage was delivered with that Freedom and Courage, that the King commanded *Laſſo*, *Upon his Allegiance to repair immediately to the Caſtle of* Gibraltar, whereof he was Governour; and *Sylva*, *To go to* Naples, *and look after his Regiment that was there*: And the *Conde de Palma*, Governour of *Toledo*, who had come along with thoſe Commiſſioners, to acquaint the King with the turbulent Eſtate of that City, had his Commiſſion taken from him, for not having curb'd the Inſolency of that proud Place; which, the King ſaid, *ſhould be taught better Manners than to fly in his Face if they had not their Wills in all things*. *Don Peter de Giron*, a brisk young Nobleman, waited on the King at the ſame time, to deſire to have Juſtice done him againſt the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, his Kinſman, who by Force kept from him a great part of his Eſtate: To which Petition the King returning a rough Anſwer, *Giron* clap'd his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and ſwore, That if the King would not, *that ſhould do him Juſtice*; and the King bidding him go and do his worſt, he reply'd, he knew what *he had to do*, and ſo withdrew. An Order was likewiſe ſent from Court to *Toledo*, requiring *Hernando de Avalos*, and *John de Padilla*, forthwith to make their Appearance at the *Groin*. But as thoſe two Gentlemen were

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were ready to begin their Journey thither, they were ſtopped by the Populace, (and as it was believed by Concert) who cry'd out with loud Voices, Kill, kill *Chevers* and the *Flemings*, that have robb'd *Spain*, and let *Hernando de Avalos*, and *John de Padilla*, the Fathers and Defenders of this Republick, live, let them live. *Don Pedro de Ayola* and *Gonſalon Gaytan*, who had likewiſe been commanded to repair to Court, were ſtopped, and had Guards ſet upon them to diſable them to undertake that Journey.

The *Cortes* being aſſembled, the *Galicians*, who have no Voice in that Aſſembly, judging this to be a very proper time to obtain the Privilege of having Procurators in it, the Archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*, and divers *Galician* Nobles, went in a Body to the Convent, where the Houſe of Commons ſat, and finding the Doors ſhut, they ſent in Word, that they deſired to be admitted, having ſomething of great Moment to that Body, to communicate to it. But the Commons, knowing their Buſineſs, would not ſuffer their Doors to be open'd to them; whereupon the Archbiſhop and the Nobles made a Proteſtation in the open Street againſt all that ſhould be done in that or any other *Cortes*, wherein the Province of *Galicia* had not Procurators of their own

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own to repreſent them. The Commiſſioners of *Toledo*, who had not gone to their Poſts the King had commanded them to repair to, made a Proteſtation likewiſe againſt all that ſhould be done in that Aſſembly, to which their City, not looking upon it as a lawful *Cortes*, had ſent no Procurators. And the Procurators of *Salamanca*, having proteſted againſt the giving of a new Donative before the Time was expired for the Payment of the former, were expelled the Houſe for adhering to that Proteſtation. And tho great Numbers of the Procurators, and of the chief Cities, did violently oppoſe the giving of any Money, the Sum that had been demanded was granted by a Majority, who were ſaid to have been hired by Bribes, and by Promiſes of Offices made to them by the Biſhop of *Badajox*, and the Commendador of *Calatrava*, who, for ſuch Practices, were every where called *Flemiſh Tools*; as the Nobles for looking on, and complying with ſuch things, were call'd *Chevers's Journeymen, who, ſo they could but have a Share of its Spoils, did not care how much their Country was plunder'd by* Foreigners.

The Cities and Towns of *Caſtile* having been in a great Ferment before, were ſo enraged when they heard of the *Cortes* having given a new Donative, and of the Me-

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Methods it had been procur'd by, that it was visible to every Body, that if a speedy and effectual Course were not taken to prevent it, there would be a general Revolt of all the Commons of the Kingdom, as there was already of the Commons of *Valentia*, who had now chased away their Viceroy, for attempting to recal the expelled Nobles. And, the Citizens of *Toledo* having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commissioners and Governour had been treated at the *Groin*, and how they themselves had been threatned for the Remonstrances they had made against the King's illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, it was generally believ'd the great Combustion *Spain* was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have return'd to *Castile*, to do something that might quiet the Minds of the Commons. But the Northern Ministers being afraid to go back themselves, perswaded the King to proceed in his intended Voyage, and that without giving the *Spaniards* so much as a Promise of ever making any Change of those Measures, whereby he had render'd himself and his Government so odious among them. Accordingly on the 22*d* of *May*, 1520. he embark'd at the *Groin*, leaving the Cardinal *Adrian* sole Governour of *Castile*, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man

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Man was said to have no Power, but only to dispose of small Ecclesiastical Preferments as they fell: But when any thing that was considerable was desir'd of him, he us'd to tell the Petitioners, *That if they would have it, they must go to the King in* Flanders *for it*; which, the *Spaniards* said, *was to send them to* Chevers *to buy it of him.*

When the Commissioners of *Toledo* returned home from the *Groin*, they were met and conducted to their Houses by the whole City, with loud Acclamations of their being *True* Castilians, *who, for their Courage and Zeal for their Country, deserv'd to have Statues erected for them, in every City and Town in the Kingdom*; and the Citizens, who were all in Arms before, were now form'd into Regiments. The chief Command of the Soldiery being committed to *Don John de Padilla*, a Nobleman of great Courage, but very young, and of no Experience, who was perswaded by his Lady, *Donna Maria Pacheca*, Daughter to the Marquis *de Mondeiar*, a Woman of rare Wit, Beauty and Courage, to accept of that Employment.

The City of *Toledo* having thus put their Militia in order, sent Letters to all the other Cities, and great Towns of *Castile*, to inform them of the Causes of their having

ving taken up Arms, and to exhort them to associate together, in the defence of their Common Liberties, which were so insolently invaded and trampled upon by Foreigners; and neither to pay the Donative granted by that illegal Assembly at the *Groin*, nor the Excises called *Alcavalas*, which having been given by a *Cortes*, above an hundred Years before, only for eight Years, were still kept up, and were contrary to Law, required as a standing Tribute.

Most of the Cities and great Towns of *Castile*, after the Example, and at the Instance of *Toledo*, taking up Arms, did all enter into an Association, obliging themselves by an Oath to stand by one another, and never to lay down their Arms until their Laws and Liberties were secured to them and their Posterity, and until all that have invaded them, and betray'd their Country, should be brought to condign Punishment, to terrify others from ever making any more such Attempts.

But as none had rendred themselves so universally odious as they, who in the *Gallego Cortes* had given their Voices for a new Donative; so the People having been furnished with a List of all their Names, murthered 'em where-ever they met with 'em, and in all places, did either burn or pull

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pull down their Houses. So the People of *Segovia*, understanding that *Tordesillas*, who had been one of their Procurators in that *Cortes*, and had voted for a Donative, was returned home, went to his House, and meeting with him, asked him, What news he had brought from the *Groin*? *Tordesillas*, who was a haughty Man, answering, *That he had something else to do, than to give an Account of what was done in a* Cortes *to a Rabble*; they immediately laid hands on him, and after having dragged him by the heels through all the Streets of the City, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, and that with so great a Rage, that they would not suffer a Fryar, who begg'd it of them upon his Knees, to Confess and Absolve him; crying out, *That none but the Hungman could Absolve Rogues that had betrayld their Country.* A grave Man likewise that was standing by, was hanged up with him, only for having muttered, *That this was both Impious and Barbarous*; as was also a Publick Notary, who was found in a Corner, writing down the Names of the Ring-leaders of that Tumult.

At *Burgos* likewise, the People pulled down the Houses, and burnt all the Furniture of two of their Procurators, whose Names were *Mota*, and *Jefferys*, for having voted a Donative. But *Jefferys*, who came

to *Burgos* not long after, in Company with the *French* Ambassador, having threatned, as he was going out of the Gates with the same, Mimick to *Tordesillas*, that when he returned to *Burgos*, *He would have his House rebuilt with the Skulls and Bones of the Rebels who had pulled it down*; was pursued until he was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Church two Miles out of Town. And notwithstanding all that the *French* Ambassador could plead in his behalf, as being of his Retinue, and all that the Priests could say to them against violating the Sanctuary of their Church, they dragg'd him from the High Altar, crying out, *That a Rogue that had betray'd his Country, ought not to have the Benefit of any of its Sanctuaries.* And having carried him back to *Burgos*, beating him all the way most unmercifully, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, bidding him, *Go and build the House with their Skulls.*

At *Zamora* the People were kept from pulling down the Houses of their Procurators, who had made their escape, by their Bishop *Don Antony d' Acuna*, a Prelate of great Knowledge and Courage, and who in this War was one of the Commons Chief Captains, as well as Counsellors; he had been Dean of the Chappel to Queen *Isabella*, and her Ambassador in *France*,

and

and was in her Favour so much, that had *Toledo* become vacant in her latter Years, it was generally believ'd she would have confer'd that Archbishoprick upon him. And though this Bishop and the Prior of *Complutum*, were the only great Prelates that declared themselves openly to be on the side of the Commons, most of the rest were, in the beginning of these Troubles, Well-wishers to them; that single Act of the King's, making a Foreigner, and one who was very young too, Archbishop of *Toledo*, having contributed more to this Civil War, than all the other Male-Administrations put together. And so zealous were most of the Priests and Fryars for the Commons, that they canoniz'd their Cause, Christening their Supreme Council, *The Sancta Junta*; neither was there for their Number, a Body of Men in the Commons whole Army, to be compared for Zeal and Courage, to the Troop consisting of four hundred Priests, that was raised and Officered by the Bishop of *Zamora*. And though few of the Nobles did ever join with the Commons, yet they were all so far Well-wishers to the main of their Cause, that none of them acted vigorously against them, until they were forc'd out of that Neutrality, by the Commons threatning the Nobles, if they did not join with

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them, with a Resumption of all the Crown Lands.

The Associated Cities and Towns having all agreed to lodge the Supreme Government and Direction of all Publick Affairs, in an Assembly made up of the same Members with a *Cortes*; and having appointed the City of *Abula* to be the place where that Assembly was to meet and sit; Procurators were accordingly chosen by all the associated Corporations, and were sent to *Abula* in the same Numbers, but with much larger Powers than they used to be sent to a *Cortes*. The Cardinal Governour, dreading the ill Effects of such a great Assembly, did all that was in his Power to have diverted the Commons from calling it, offering them if they would not do it, both a Pardon for all that was past, and a Redress of all their true Grievances; of which he affirm'd, That the greatest Patriot in *Castile*, was neither more sensible, nor more desirous to have 'em all remedy'd than he was. And when the *Junta* was assembled, he dispatched Commissioners to them with the same Propositions, offering if they would lay down their Arms, to procure for them all that they had desired when they first took them up.

But the *Junta*, which from its birth is said to have design'd to carry things much farther

farther than the Commons had looked when they firſt revolted, ſent the Cardinal word, *That though they had a very great Honour for his Perſon, and did not in the leaſt doubt of his being a Friend and Well-wiſher to the* Caſtilians *and their Liberties; nevertheleſs, ſince their Laws did not allow any that was a Foreigner to be their Governour, they were oblig'd to command and require him, being a Foreigner, not to ſtile himſelf, or act any longer as Governour of* Caſtile; offering him at the ſame time, not only their Protection, but their Favour, if he would either come and live among them, or live any where elſe in *Caſtile*, as a private Perſon. And as to the Pardon he had offered, they ſaid, *They were not ſenſible of their ever having done any thing to make them ſtand in need of one; and that as they had been forc'd to have recourſe to Arms, having no other way left to recover and preſerve their oppreſs'd Laws and Liberties, ſo whenever they were ſufficiently ſecured to them and their Poſterity, they ſhould be ready to lay them down, and after the Example of their Anceſtors, in the quiet Enjoyment of the ſame Rights and Privileges, to continue his Majeſty's moſt obedient and faithful Subjects.* And to ſatisfy all the World, as well as the Cardinal, of the Juſtice of their Arms, the *Junta* ſet forth a Manifeſto, containing the Reaſons of their ha-

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ving had recourse to them, and the Terms whereon they should be ready to lay them down again. In all which, they pretended to desire nothing that was new, or that was not agreeable to the Laws and Customs, which the King at his first coming to the Crown, had taken an Oath to maintain. The chief things required by the Commons in this *Manifesto*, were :

I. *That the King shall reside and keep all his Courts in* Castile ; *or if he shall at any time have occasion to be absent, it shall not be lawful for him to appoint any that are not Natives of the Kingdom to be its Governours.*

II. *That none but Natives shall be capable of any Office or Benefice, either in Church or State.*

III. *That the King shall not marry, but with the consent of his* Cortes.

IV. *That no Foreigners shall be naturalized.*

V. *That the Procurators shall be paid for their attendance on the* Cortes, *by the Corporations they serve for.*

VI. *That it shall not be lawful for the King to give any Office or Salary to any of the Procurators of the* Cortes, *or to name their President, nor to send Letters that are not open to any of the Procurators.*

VII.

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VII. That a Cortes shall be assembled once in three Years at least, and shall sit and consult about the publick Affairs of the Kingdom.

VIII. That there shall be no free Quarters, either for Soldiers, or for any of the King's Servants, for above six Days, and that only when Soldiers are upon a March, and the Court in a Progress: After the Expiration of which six Days, the chief Magistrates of the Place where they are, shall appoint how much they shall pay for their Quarters.

IX. That the Rewards which have been given or promised to any of the Members of the late Assembly at the Groin shall be all revoked.

X. That the Excises shall be reduced to the state they were in at the Death of Queen Isabella.

XI. That all that has been given from the Crown since that Queen's Death shall be resumed.

XII. That all New Officers erected in the King's Houshold since that Queen's Death, shall be dissolved.

XIII. That none shall hold two Offices in the King's Houshold.

XIV. That all Privileges which have been at any time granted to the Nobles to the Prejudice of the Commons, shall be revoked.

XV. *That the Government of Cities and Towns shall not be put into the Hands of any of the Nobles.*

XVI. *That no chief Magistrate of any City or Town shall receive any Salary from any Nobleman.*

XVII. *That the Lands of the Nobles shall pay to all publick Taxes, equally with those of the* Commons.

XVIII. *That no Gold, Silver or Jewels shall, upon Pain of Death, be sent out of the Kingdom.*

XIX. *That it shall not be lawful for the King to give away any Money before it has been paid into the Treasury.*

XX. *That no Corrigidor of any City or Town shall continue in that Office above a Year, unless the People of the Place do petition to have him continued in it.*

XXI. *That the Corrigidors shall be paid their Salaries out of the Treasury, and not out of the Forfeitures of People who have been condemned by them.*

XXII. *That the Goods of Persons accused shall not be given to any before they are convicted and condemned.*

XXIII. *That whosoever shall presume to execute any Office after they are convicted of having bought it, shall be punished with Death.*

XXIV.

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XXIV. *That if any of the King's Officers are convicted of having done any Wrong to the Subject, they shall not only be turned out of their Places for it, but shall be for ever render'd incapable of all publick Employments.*

XXV. *That none shall be compelled to purchase Papal Indulgences, and that all the Money arising from such Indulgences shall be employed against the Infidels, and all Pensions granted upon it shall be revoked.*

XXVI. *That the late* Breve *subjecting the Ecclesiasticks in several Cases to the King, shall be abolished.*

XXVII. *That Prelates who do not reside with their Flocks six Months in a Year, shall lose all their Profits, during the time they are absent.*

XXVIII. *That the* Custom-house *for* Indian *Goods shall never be removed from the Place where it is at present.*

XXIX. *That neither Sheep nor Wool shall be suffer'd to go out of the Kingdom.*

XXX. *That the Queen shall be allow'd a Royal Maintenance.*

The *Junta*, (which was now ador'd and obey'd every where almost) that they might not seem to have laid their *Flemish* King aside, as well as his *Dutch* Governour, by having never, since they took up Arms, made

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made any manner of Application to him, nam'd Commissioners to go and wait upon him in *Germany*, who having laid all their Grievances before him, were order'd to let him know, *That if he would remove and punish those evil Counsellors, who had been the Authors of all the late male-Administrations, and would call a free* Cortes, *and therein give his Royal Assent to all the fore-mentioned Provisions, (which being all agreeable to the Laws and Customs he had taken an Oath to maintain, they said, he could not in Justice deny to his Commons) they would then not only lay down their Arms, which they had, contrary to their Inclinations, been forc'd to have Recourse to, but would become Examples of Fidelity and Obedience to his Person and Government, to all his other Subjects.* They were ordered likewise to endeavour to satisfy the King, That by granting to the Commons all that they desired, his Crown would be enriched; and his Power and Authority, by lessening of that of the Nobles, would be much encreased.

With these Injunctions the *Junta*'s Commissioners, of whom Father *Paul de Leon*, a zealous *Dominican* Fryar, was the first, pass'd thorough *France*, in order to have waited upon the King in *Germany*. But having, before they were got out of the *French* Territories, receiv'd Intelligence from some

some Friends they had in the Court, that there was an Order from the Emperor, *To apprehend and make them all those Prisoners as soon as they set Foot on* German *Ground*; they all return'd home, full of furious Exclamations against the *Northern* Ministers, whom they called *the King's Governours*, inflaming their Country-men, where-ever they came, by assuring them, *That nothing but their Swords could ever open a way for their Grievances to the King's Ear thorough those Brigades of Harpys that were about him.*

This Treatment of their Commissioners was highly resented by the *Junta*, as a thing that had no President in *Castile*, none of their Kings having ever before deny'd the hearing to the Complaints of any private Subject that addressed themselves to them, and much less to the whole Body of the Commons of the Kingdom, waiting upon them with a Representation of publick Grievances; and so despairing of ever being able to obtain any Relief from the King, they resolved to apply themselves to the Queen, and if they found her in her Senses, (which she was universally reported to be in) to perswade her to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self, which, upon a false Supposition of her not being capable of managing it, had by a

Cortes

Cortes been rashly committed to her Son, by whom, and his Northern Ministers, the *Castilian* Laws and Liberties had been so trampled upon, that the Commons had been forc'd to have Recourse to Arms, to preserve them from being utterly destroy'd.

The Cardinal, who hitherto had used no Violence with the Commons, (besides the having strangled an *Austin* Fryar, for preaching up the *Junta*, and the Justice of its Cause, with great Vehemence in the City of *Palencia)* being unwilling to begin the shedding of Blood in a Military way, when he came to be acquainted with this Design of the *Junta*'s, resolved to hinder its Execution, by entring upon Action. And having been inform'd, that *Segovia* was but weakly fortify'd, and had no strong Garrison in it, he order'd one *Ronquelos*, who was both a Corrigidor and an experienc'd Commander, to march with a Body of Veterane Troops, and surprize that City, which was one of the most mutinous in the whole Kingdom; but having to that end sent to *Medina Campi*, where the King's Stores of War were kept, for some Canon and Ammunition, the Inhabitants, who had made themselves Masters of all the Magazines, sent him Word, *That they would blow up the Magazines, and themselves with them,*

sooner

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sooner than furnish Canon and Ammunition to destroy their Country men for standing in Defence of their common Liberties: Which Repulse, though it mortify'd the Cardinal extremely, did not divert him from prosecuting his Design on *Segovia*, toward which, *Ronquelos* march'd in great haste; and tho he fought and defeated a Body of the Commons much superiour to him in Number, which had rashly attempted to have stop'd him in his March, he had not well invested that City, when he was glad to draw off his Men, and retreat with great Precipitation to *Valedolid*, upon having receiv'd Intelligence, that *Padilla* was advancing towards him with an Army to force him to a Battle, for which he was no ways prepar'd.

The Cardinal's first hostile Enterprize having thus miscarried; his second was, to recover, if it were possible, the King's Magazines in *Medina*, before the *Junta* had put a Garrison into that Place, which he reckon'd, now he had begun to commit Hostilities upon them, they would do speedily; and accordingly he commanded *Don Anthony de Fonseca*, General of all the King's Forces in *Castile*, to draw together all the Troops he could, and whatever it cost him, to make himself Master of those Magazines.

Fonseca,

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Fonseca, when he came before *Medina*, having receiv'd the same Answer to a Summons he had sent to the Magistrates by a Trumpeter, as was given by them before to the Cardinal, began to thunder upon them with his Canon and with Granados, designing so soon as he had made a Breach in their Walls, which were not very strong, to have assaulted them. But a Granado or Canon Bullet happening to fall into the Magazine where all the Powder lay, set Fire to it, and blowing it up, laid not only the Magazines, but all the Buildings in the Town in Rubbish, under which most of the Inhabitants that were not upon the Walls were smother'd and buried. *Fonseca*, upon this dreadful Blow, summon'd them a second time, for the Sake of the Canon, which were all the Stores that were left unconsum'd, to surrender upon Discretion; which the Inhabitants refusing to do, he assaulted them on all sides; but the Defendants being put into a perfect Fury by the lamentable Destruction of their Town, maintain'd their Walls and Gates so well, that *Fonseca*, after having made several Attacks, in which he lost a great many of his best Men, was obliged to retreat, leaving the unhappy Inhabitants Masters of the great Heap of Rubbish he had made.

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The News of the Desolation of *Medina* enraged the whole Kingdom almost to Madness; for besides that it was a large and well built Town, the Merchants Goods which had been lodg'd in the *Franciscan* Convent against the approaching great Fair, and which were all burnt, were valued at three hundred thousand Ducats. The *Junta* so resented this great Loss, that they proclaim'd *Fonseca* an *Incendiary*, and a *publick Enemy* to his *Country*; commanding all People, where-ever he came, to treat him as such: And the Cardinal, to throw the Odium of an Action which had put the whole Kingdom into so great a Flame, off from the King and himself, wholly upon *Fonseca*, did by a Proclamation declare solemnly, That *Fonseca* had no Order from him either to fire Cannon upon, or throw any Granadoes into *Medina*; and that for having done it, to the utter Destruction both of that Town, and of his Majesty's Magazines, he had not only taken his Commission from him, but did further declare him for ever incapable of any publick Employment, leaving him to the Vengeance of the Law for what he had done.

The People of *Valedolid*, who by the Cardinals residing with them, and restoring to them their Charter, and all their former Privileges, and promising not to require

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the new Donative, had till this time been kept from associating with the Commons, did now break loose, and having taken up Arms, they declared, *That they would look on no longer to see their Country destroyed, for asserting its Rights and just Liberties.* And not being satisfy'd with what the Cardinal had done to *Fonseca*, they set Fire to a noble and richly furnish'd House he had in their City, lamenting that they had not its Owner to have burnt him in it. From burning of *Fonseca*'s House, they went to the House of *Don Francisco Serna*, who had been active for the Court in the late Assembly at the *Groin*, which they pull'd down, and burnt all its Furniture; as they did also the House of one *Portelli*, a rich *Italian* Banker, for having not long before given a Project in to the Lords of the Treasury, how the Revenue of the Excises might be advanced.

At *Burgos*, the People had murder'd their Bishop, who was Brother to *Fonseca*, for having drop'd some Words in *Fonseca*'s Vindication, had he not escap'd out of Town before his Palace was beset by them. And tho they spared his Palace, they vented their Fury on all they found in it that belong'd to him, bringing all his Goods out, and burning them before his Gates. And at *Medina*, one *Cornelius Nepos* was stabb'd by *Badilla*,

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Badilla, a Shearer of Cloath, only for having ſaid, *That had they let the Cardinal have the Canon he ſent for*, Medina *had not been in Ruins.* One *Vera* alſo a Bookſeller was torn in Pieces by the People, only for ſaying, *That he ſaw no Reaſon why the King ſhould not have had his own Canon when he ſent for them.* And upon a Report that *Fonſeca*, who did not know where to hide his Head, was coming to abſcond himſelf in the Queen's Court in *Tordeſillas*, the People told the Marqueſs of *Denia*, the Queen's Keeper, *That if that Incendiary dared to come within their Walls, he ſhould find no Sanctuary among them, no not in the Queen's own Bed-chamber.*

The Cardinal, now that *Valedolid*, where he had all along reſided, had joined with, and ſent Procurators to the *Junta*, apprehending that that Aſſembly would execute their Deſign of ſetting up the Queen, offered to them, *If they would promiſe to let all things remain in the ſame ſtate they were then in, until he returned again, to go in Perſon to* Germany, *to repreſent all their Grievances to the King in ſuch a manner, that he did not doubt of prevailing with him to redreſs them, and remove all thoſe Miniſters from about him, who had been the Authors of them.* But the *Junta*, which did not doubt of the Cardinal's having all along ſollicited

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the King by Letters to do that which he now offer'd to go in Person to *Germany* to perswade him to, desired the Cardinal to let them see the Answers he had from time to time received from the Court to the true and free Representations he had made, because by that they should be better able to judge what would be the Success of his waiting upon the King in Person; and upon the Cardinal's desiring to be excused for not making the Answers he had received from the Court publick, the *Junta* concluded those Answers to be so unsatisfactory, that the Cardinal durst not publish them for fear of making things more desperate. So they thanked the Cardinal for his good Will, and told him, that they had Reason to believe, that his going in Person to *Germany* would have no other Effect than his true and honest Remonstrances had had, and that it was a vain thing for him or them ever to hope for Redress of any of their Grievances, whilst the King was entirely in the Hands of those who had been the Authors of them all, and whom the Commons insisted on having removed from Court, and punished.

The *Junta* having thus answered the Cardinal, whom they commanded a second time not to stile himself, or to act any longer as Governour of the Kingdom, dispatch'd

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patch'd *Don John de Padilla*, the Darling of the Commons, with a Guard of two hundred Horse, to wait upon the Queen, and to perswade her, if it was possible, to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self. When *Padilla* arriv'd at *Tordesillas*, he was received with a wonderful Joy by all the People; and having obtain'd Leave from the Marquess of *Denia* to wait upon her Majesty, after he had kiss'd her Hand, he acquainted her at large with all the Male-Administrations and Tyrannies of her Son, and his Northern Ministers, by whom he was absolutely governed, and who, he said, treated the *Castilians* more like Slaves than like free born Subjects, and did either sell all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State, or give them to their own Relations; and how the Commons of *Castile*, having in vain petition'd to have those evil Counsellors removed, and their insupportable Grievances redressed, had been forc'd to have Recourse to their Arms, to preserve those ancient Laws and Liberties, which had been before always peaceably enjoy'd by their Ancestors, under her Majesty's Royal Progenitors: And at last he conjur'd her, as she had any Love for her Country, and the good People of *Castile*, who were so dear to her blessed Mother, to come abroad,

and take upon her self the Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be absolutely ruined.

The Queen, to whom all that *Padilla* had told her was News, having heard him with great attention, made answer, *That so long as she lived her good People of* Castile *should not be oppress'd.* But when she was desired by *Padilla* to come abroad, and make a publick Declaration of her having taken upon her self the Government of her Kingdoms, which he said was the only way whereby she could preserve them from being ruined, she would not speak a word more, though *Padilla* upon his Knees urged her most passionately to promise to make such a Declaration, and to let her loving Subjects see her abroad, which he said, was the thing in the World they desired the most.

There being in *Sandovall*, a much fuller account of what pass'd betwixt the Queen and the *Junta*, than there is in *Peter Martyr*'s Letters; I shall insert that Account here, because *Sandovall* saith he had it from one that was an Eye-witness of all those Passages, and who neither was a Commoner, nor a Friend to the Commons: In the twenty third Section of his third Book, he saith; 'After '*John Padilla* had rested himself a while, 'he went to the Palace where the Queen 'received

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'received him very graciouſly; and having 'given him an Audience, ſhe asked him, 'Who he was? He anſwered, That his 'Name was *John de Padilla*, and was Son 'to *Pedro Lopez de Padilla*, who had been 'Captain General in *Caſtile*, and ſerved the 'renowned Queen *Donna Iſabella* her Mother, 'and that he came to tender his Service to 'her Majeſty, with that of the People of '*Toledo*. That he muſt give her to under-'ſtand, that ſince the Deceaſe of the Ca-'tholick King her Father, there had been, 'and were in that Kingdom great Diſor-'ders, Miſchiefs and Diſſentions for want 'of a Governour, and that although the 'mighty *Don Carlos* her Son had go-'verned *Spain*, yet by reaſon of his ſudden 'Departure the Kingdom was in ſuch Com-'motions and Diſorders, that all *Spain* was 'ready to be deſtroyed; he was come for 'that reaſon with an Army of *Toledians* 'to ſerve her Highneſs, whom he deſired 'to ſee, and to know what Commands ſhe 'had to lay upon him; for he was ready 'to ſpend his Life in her Service. The Queen was much aſtoniſhed to hear ſuch things, and ſaid, ſhe never knew any thing of it before, for ſhe had been ſixteen Years ſhut up in a Chamber, under the Guard of the Marqueſs of *Denia*, and wondred to hear ſuch Stories; but if ſhe had known of her

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Father's Death she would have gone abroad, and found some Remedies to those Mischiefs. Then she saith to *John de Padilla*, Go now, I command you, take the Charge and execute the Office of Captain General in the Kingdom, and give you order for all things as need shall require, until I provide otherwise. This said, she retired to her Chamber, and *John de Padilla* returned to his Quarters, well attended and very jocund for the Favour the Queen had done him, in giving him that Commission. Many times after this *John de Padilla* had Conference with the Queen, and she seemed to give Audience to him and others of the *Junta* very willingly. They told her once that the King her Son had done great damage to the Kingdom; whereunto she answered, That her Son was not greatly in fault, for he was but a Youth, but the Kingdom rather ought to be condemned for suffering it; then she commanded that the Assembly of the Kingdom should be kept there, and said that she would authorize it.

The *Junta* being altogether in the Queen's Presence, gave her to understand by the Mouth of Dr. *Zuniga* of *Salamanca* the Grievances of the Kingdom, it having been pilled and polled by Strangers, since her Father's Death; and out of the Sense of their Oppression they desired that her Highness

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ness would be pleased to take upon her the Command and Government of the Kingdom, making high Protestations that they would obey and serve her till Death, as their Queen and natural Sovereign, and that she should command as absolutely as the most powerful Queen in the World; whereunto she answered to this Effect: 'That she loved that Country and her Subjects with so much tenderness, that it grieved her exceedingly to hear of any of their 'Sufferings; but she had been long mewed 'up there, and had always bad People 'about her, who had fed her with Falsities and Lies, insomuch that she knew not 'of her Father's Death, nor of their Oppression; and that when she was informed of those Strangers coming into *Castile* 'it troubled her very much, yet she 'thought it might be for her Children's Good, 'tho it seems it proved otherwise; but she 'wondered much at them, that they did 'not revenge themselves, if any thing 'was done contrary to Justice; and for as 'much, said she, that you intend to remedy the ill Government of the Affairs of the 'Kingdom, it doth rejoyce me; and if you 'do it not, let it lie upon your own Consciences: Besides, I command you so to do, 'and as far as lieth in my Power I shall be ready to do any thing here or wheresoever I am.

'You need not come all to me hereafter, it 'will be more convenient that you appoint 'four of the discreeteſt and moſt knowing 'amongſt you, who ſhall at any time have ac- 'ceſs to me, and inform me what courſe is 'meeteſt to be taken; I will hear them, and 'do all that poſſibly I can. Then *Don Pedro Laſſo* deſired that her Highneſs would be pleaſed to nominate the four Members whom ſhe would have to confer with her concerning the Government of the Kingdom; ſhe anſwered, 'That her Will was, 'That the *Junta* ſhould ſend whom they 'thought good, and ſhe would hear them 'whenſoever they came.

This Writing ſigned by 3 Notaries in the Preſence of the Infanta *Donna Catalina*, all the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom, divers eminent Prieſts and Fryars, and many other Perſons of Quality, ſatisfied exceedingly the Common People, who cry'd it up for a kind of Miracle, that the Queen, after ſo many Years of Retirement, in ſo ſtrict a manner, that ſcarce any Body could have the ſight of her, and ſo long diſcontinuance from any Knowledge of State-Affairs, ſhould now come forth, and ſhew her ſelf in a time of ſo great Neceſſity, with ſo much Knowledge and clear Judgment in things concerning the Government of the Kingdom. They praiſed God for ſhewing his Mercy in

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in ſo high a Meaſure unto *Spain*. Yet ſome there were who did not ſtick to ſay, that all thoſe Circumſtances were falſe and forged by thoſe of the *Junta*; that the Queen had no Judgment to meddle with any ſuch Affairs, neither was ſhe in a condition to be treated with. This was commonly noiſed, not only in *Valedolid*, but divers other Places alſo. *Pedro Mexia* treating of this Buſineſs, ſeemeth in his Book to favour this opinion. I write what I had from one that was an Eye-witneſs of all thoſe Paſſages, and who neither was a Commoner nor Friend of that Faction. Thus far *Sandoval*.

But however this might be upon what the Queen had ſaid, *Padilla* reported to the *Junta*, that upon the Repreſentation he had made to her of the great Miſeries of *Caſtile*, ſhe had promiſed to reſume the Government, and to rule them according to their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms; upon which Report the *Junta* removed from *Abula* to *Villabaxim*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Tordeſillas*; from whence, after a few Days, they went all in a Body to wait upon the Queen, with a Petition to her in the Name of all the Commons of *Caſtile*, to come abroad and take upon her ſelf the Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwiſe be ruined: The Queen made

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made Answer, *That so soon as her Health would permit it, she would do all that her good People had desired of her.* But when she was importun'd to signify so much presently by a Proclamation, and to take her own time to go abroad, she entreated the *Junta*, to *have a little Patience*, without saying a Word more to them.

But tho the Queen her self would not do it, the *Junta*, upon the Promise she had made them, set forth a Proclamation, declaring, that her Majesty had resolved, out of the tender Love she had for *Castile*, and the good People thereof, to take upon her self the Government, and after the Example of all her Royal Progenitors, to govern her Subjects according to the ancient Laws, and not to suffer them to be any longer tyranniz'd over by Strangers.

Never was any thing receiv'd with a greater or more universal Joy than this News was all over the Kingdom of *Castile*, in which for several Days nothing was heard, but *Long may our* Castilian *Queen live, and may foreign Counsellors perish.* And as the next Night after *the Queen's having assum'd the Government* was celebrated at *Tordesillas*, *Valedolid*, and all the neighbouring Places with Illuminations and Fire-works; so it was celebrated in like manner, in all parts of the Kingdom, as soon as they

they had the News of it. And to give the Queen ſome Diverſion, a Tilt on Horſe-back was performed by ſeveral young Noblemen under the Windows of her Apartment; the Queen ſtanding in a Balcony to ſee it, and ſeeming to be well pleaſed both with the Exerciſe, and the loud Acclamations of the People, who had flock'd together to ſee her.

Upon the Queen's having been thus diverted, the *Junta* conceived Hopes that ſhe might be perfectly cured of her Melancholy, and to that end they diſmiſs'd her Keeper, and all the other Officers that were about her, that were ſuſpected to be in her Son's Intereſt, putting *Don Alonſo Quintinilla* and his Lady, in the Room of the Marqueſs of *Denia* and his Marchioneſs; and believing that a living Husband might be a proper Means to cure her of her diſtemper'd Fondneſs for her dead Husband's Body, they releaſed *Don Ferdinand*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Naples* out of his Priſon, in which he had been kept ſeveral Years, with an Intention of marrying him to the Queen. But that Prince, we are not told for what Reaſon, having quickly left the Commons, by whom he had been made Governour of *Valedolid*, and made himſelf a Priſoner again, this great Deſign came to nothing. The *Junta* being, it is like, afraid that they might

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might have disoblig'd their Queen, had they gone about to have perswaded her to marry one of her Subjects.

It had been happy for the Commons if they had never taken any Notice of this distemper'd Princess. For she relaps'd soon after into her former Melancholy, (to which the removing of all her old Servants might probably contribute) But the *Junta*'s contriving to set her on the Throne, was the Cause of the first Disunion that had appeared in that Body: For tho the desiring the Queen to take the Government upon her self had been carried in the *Junta* by a great Majority, yet its being violently opposed by several of the Procurators of some of the chief Cities, and particularly by those of *Burgos*, made such a Rent in that Assembly, as was never well cemented. For, besides that, that great City was much influenc'd by the Constable of *Castile*, who lived in it, it was very much disoblig'd by the *Junta*'s having given the first Place in a *Cortes* to the Procurators of *Toledo*, to which *Burgos* had always pretended: And that Controversy betwixt those two great Cities, tho it was of a very long standing, no *Cortes* had ever taken upon it to decide.

The Cardinal, who was extremely troubled at the *Junta*'s having got the Queen in

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in their keeping, and at the great Joy the News of her having promiſed to come abroad, and take the Government into her own Hands, had been entertain'd with all over the Kingdom, diſpatch'd the Biſhops of St. *Lucar* and of *Oveido*, who were both reckon'd to be Well-wiſhers to the Commons, to *Tordeſillas*, to which Place the *Junta* was come, with ſome new Propoſitions.

But tho the *Junta* would not receive thoſe two popular Prelates, as Deputies ſent to them by the Governour of the Kingdom, they gave them an Audience as Meſſengers ſent to them by the Cardinal; and having conſider'd the Propoſitions which they brought, they deſired them to let the Cardinal know, that tho the Commons of *Caſtile* did not doubt of his being a true Friend to them and their Liberties, yet they had no Reaſon to think, that he had Intereſt enough in the King to be able to do them any Service.

A few Days after, four Perſons of Quality were by the *Junta* diſpatch'd to *Valedolid*, to command the Cardinal, in the Name of the Queen, and of all the Commons of *Caſtile*, not to preſume to call himſelf, or to act any longer as Governour of the Kingdom; and to command the Council of State to come with all its Books and Officers, to *Tordeſillas*, where their Sovereign Queen kept

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kept her Court. The Persons in this Commission were, *Don John de Padilla*, General of the Forces of *Toledo*, *Don Francis Bravo*, General of the Forces of *Segovia*, *Don Alonso Aguila*, General of the Forces of *Avila*, and *Don John Zapata*, General of the Forces of *Madrid*; and they had for their Speaker, Father *Alonso Medina*, an eloquent *Dominican* Fryar.

These Commissioners were received by the People of *Valedolid*, with all the Expressions of a great Joy; and being admitted into the Council of State, which was assembled by the Cardinal at their Request, and at which the Cardinal himself was present; the first thing they desired, was that Father *de Medina* might be heard; which being granted, that Fryar, in a long tragical Harangue, laid before the Council the great Miseries the Kingdom groaned under, and the Causes of all those Miseries; and having extolled the Holy *Junta*, as he call'd it, to the Skies, as an Assembly of the wisest Men and best Patriots, that had ever been before in *Castile*; he earnestly exhorted the Council, as they desired to prevent the Ruin of their Country, to join themselves to the *Junta*, which had no other Aims, but the Security of the publick Liberty, and the Preservation of the Rights of the Subject: All which, he said,

said, should the Commons, now they had taken up Arms to assert them, be conquer'd by the King and his Court, would be eternally lost; and *Castile*, of the most renowned, would become the most contemptible and miserable Kingdom in the World. After the Fryar had done speaking, the Commissioners deliver'd their Message, and commanded the Cardinal and Council of State to yield Obedience to it, upon Pain of the Queen's and Commons high Displeasure.

The Cardinal, after having complain'd of the *Junta*'s slighting all the kind and sincere Offers he had made them of his Service, and reprimanded Father *Medina* severely, for having left his Cell, to turn a *Trumpeter of Sedition*; desired the Commissioners to let the *Junta* know, *That being the King's natural born Subject, he was no Foreigner in the Eye of the Law of* Castile; and that as he had never been in a Correspondence with any that were Enemies to the Liberties of the Subject, so he was resolv'd never to enter into any such Correspondence. After the Cardinal had done speaking, the President of the Council told the Commissioners, *That the Cardinal having been appointed by the King Governour of the Kingdom, during the time of his Absence, it was not lawful for them to assemble any where without*

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without his Order. The Commissioners answer'd, *The Junta will be obeyed*; and so left the Council, and went strait to the Town-house, where the Magistrates of the City had been order'd to attend them: Who, having been harrangu'd by Fryar *Medina*, and told, among other things, *That if they did not execute the Commands of the Holy* Junta *on the Cardinal, and the Council of State, they would pull down the Vengeance of Heaven and of the whole Kingdom upon their Heads,* promised to see the *Junta* obey'd in that, and in every thing else, so far as they had Power to serve it. And they were as good as their Word, for after this, they did not only hinder the Cardinal from appearing and acting as Governour of the Kingdom, but confin'd him to his House, obliging all the Privy-Councillors they could meet with, to go with their Officers to *Tordesillas.* The Cardinal, who had been twice taken, and brought back to his House, as he was attempting to have got away, understanding that Dr. *Olmedilla* and Dr. *Benardino*, two famous Lawyers, who had always been suspected of being Friends to the Commons, were going of their own Accord to *Tordesillas*, sent to speak with them before they went; and when they waited upon him, he told them, that since they would go to the *Junta*, he would have them let that

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that Aſſembly know, that if they would promiſe to let things continue as they were until he returned, he would go to *Germany*, as the Sollicitor of the Commons of *Caſtile*, with their King; from whom, if he were with him in Perſon, he did not queſtion to obtain as much for them as they could in Reaſon deſire of him. The Lawyers did not only promiſe to acquaint the *Junta* with this Propoſition, but ſaid they would uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to perſwade them to accept of it; which, when they were at *Tordeſillas*, they were ſo far from doing, that inſtead of telling the *Junta*, that the Cardinal deſired to go to *Germany*, to ſerve the Commons, they told them, that he deſired to have leave to come to them at *Tordeſillas*, to confer with them; to which the *Junta* agreed, but upon four Conditions.

The *Firſt* was, That he ſhould not aſſume the Title, nor uſe any of the Enſigns of Governour of the Kingdom.

The *Second* was, That he ſhould not come with any Guards.

The *Third* was, That he ſhould go ſtrait to the Logdings which ſhould be provided for him, and not go abroad without the *Junta*'s Leave.

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And the *Laſt* was, That he ſhould ſend no Letters to the King, nor to any other Perſon, without having firſt ſhewed them to the *Junta*.

Don Peter Giron, who was a great Friend of the Cardinal's, was ſent by the *Junta* to wait upon him to *Tordeſillas*, if he would agree to thoſe Conditions. But the Cardinal, when *Giron* had acquainted him with the Buſineſs, deny'd that he had ever ſaid any thing to thoſe Lawyers, about having Leave to go to the *Junta*: And being vehemently urged by *Giron*, to go to them however, he alledging, *That he would be able to do both the King and the whole Kingdom great Service by it*; he reply'd, *That unleſs he were carried to the* Junta *by Force, he was reſolved never to go to the Place where they ſat upon any Terms, and much leſs upon the diſhonourable Terms which they had been pleaſed to preſcribe.* So he continued under Confinement at *Valedolid*, until he received Advice of *Don Henrique Henriquez*, the Admiral of *Caſtile*, being march'd into the Kingdom with an Army he had drawn out of the Garriſons of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*. After which, ſtealing out of the City by Night, attended only by one Servant, he fled to *Rioſeco*, a Caſtle belonging to the Admiral; where he had not been long, before the *Biſ-*

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Biſcainers, whoſe barren Country is their only Grievance, ſent him ſome Troops for his Guards, with an offer of more to reduce the Commons of *Caſtile* to Obedience.

The Iſland of *Gervis*, which is one of the *Syrtes*, having at this time been taken from the *Spaniards* by the *Turks*, the Garriſon that was in that Iſland, when it was landed in *Spain*, was courted by both ſides to join with them. And *Giron* being employed therein by the *Junta*, acquitted himſelf of well, by gaining with his own Money moſt of thoſe Souldiers to declare for the Commons, that he was for that Service declared Generaliſſimo of all their Forces, to the great diſcontent of the Souldiery, and of all the Commons, who could not endure that any one, and much leſs *Giron*, of whoſe Fidelity they were ſtill jealous, ſhould be ſet over *Padilla*; who was commonly called by them the *Hannibal* of his Age: and who, if the Populace could have had their Wills, had been proclaimed King of *Caſtile*; as he was by the Vicar of *Mediana*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Abula*, who exhorted his Auditors to ſay three *Ave Marys* with a moſt profound Devotion; one for the *Holy Junta, That God would proſper it:* A ſecond for his Majeſty, *Don John de Padilla:* And a third, for her Majeſty, *Donna Maria de Padilla, That God would prolong their*

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Days: And when he observed the Congregation appear'd astonish'd at what he had said; he told them bodly, *That they who aimed at nothing but the Publick Good, were fit to be Sovereigns, and not they who oppreſt the People, and went about to rob them of their Liberties.*

The first thing *Giron*, after he was made Generaliſſimo, was ordered by the *Junta* to do, was to sack *Alhagio*, a Castle belonging to *Fonseca*, in revenge for his having burnt *Medina Campi*. But that Castle being well fortified and manned, *Giron*, after having assaulted it several times, and lost a great many Men before it, was obliged to give it over: Which ill Success in his first Enterprize, did very much increase the suspicion the Commons had of his Fidelity to them, by reason of his being nearly related to the Admiral, and most of the Grandees, which they looked on as their most dangerous Enemies. But the *Junta* being satisfy'd by *Giron*, of his having done all that he was able, to have executed their Orders, continued him in that high Post, until he gave them their Deaths Blow; but whether thorow Treachery, or only thorow ill Conduct, is not known certainly.

Don Inigo de Velasco, Constable of *Castile*, having still appeared extremely discontented with the Court, had been suffered to live

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live quietly in his Houſe in *Burgos*, until now, that it was diſcovered, that in the beginning of the Troubles, he had perſwaded a Meſſenger that had been ſent by that City to the Province of *Marindatis*, to invite them to enter into the Aſſociation, not to go, and that he had kept him conceal'd in his Houſe ever ſince: The Rumour of which Diſcovery, having raiſed the Populace, they ſurrounded the Conſtable's Houſe, threatning to ſet fire to it, if their treacherous Meſſenger were not immediately brought forth to them. At firſt the Conſtable deny'd that there was ever any ſuch Perſon in his Houſe, and gave the People leave to ſearch it all over for him; and when he found that would not do, he offered to deliver their Meſſenger, if they would promiſe only to ſpare his Life. But being told, that they would not make any ſuch Promiſe, but would burn him with their Meſſenger in his Houſe, if he did not immedialely bring him forth. The poor Wretch was put into their hands, and was forthwith hanged upon the Conſtable's Gates, on which they threatned to hang the Conſtable himſelf too, if he did not immediately leave *Burgos*. The Conſtable promiſed to obey them, and before Night he removed with his whole Family to his Country Houſe

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in the Neighbourhood of that City; where having lived privately till the heat of the Populace was aſſwaged, he entered into a Treaty with the Magiſtrates, offering, if they would promiſe not to commit any Act of Hoſtility until they could have an Anſwer from the Court, to join with the Commons, in caſe the King deny'd to give his Aſſent to the following Proviſions being paſſed into *Laws*.

1. *That none but Natives of* Caſtile *ſhould be capable of any Office or Beneſice in it, either in Church or State.*
2. *That it ſhould be death to carry Money out of the Kingdom.*
3. *That there ſhould be no ſuch thing as Free Quarter.*
4. *That the Exciſes ſhould be reduced to what they were anciently.*

Laſtly, *That it ſhall not be lawful for the King to lay any new Taxes upon the Subject, unleſs they be given by a free Cortes.*

Whether the *Conſtable* was in earneſt in this Treaty, or only deſigned to amuſe the Commons, and to gain time till the Army he had ſent for out of *Navar* was come up to him; upon the Magiſtrates of *Burgos* having agreed to it, he put two of his Sons as Hoſtages into their hands. And after that,

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that, he prevailed with them to order their Procurators, in the *Junta*, to labour to perswade that Assembly to come to the same Agreement, and to threaten to leave them if they did not, or if they talked any more of depriving the King of the Authority and Title which had been conferred on him, by the *Cortes* of the Kingdom.

The Cities of *Zamora* and *Soria*, having come to an Agreement with the Nobles in their Neighbourhood, upon the same Articles, sent the same Orders to their Procurators; to which Articles the *Junta* having absolutely refused to agree, so as not to act any longer in the Queen's, without the King's Name, a great heat and disunion was caused by it. But these separate Treaties, and seeds of Dissention, the *Junta*, had it been as hot in Execution, as it was in Council, might very easily have prevented. For, if upon the burning of *Medina Campi*, by which the whole Kingdom was put into a Flame, they had but removed the Queen to *Toledo*, and had secured the Cardinal, the Constable, the *Conde* of *Benevento*, and a few more of the Grandees in the same City, they had never been troubled with these Divisions, nor in all probability had ever been destroyed by any *Spanish* Army. But from making such bold, but necessary steps, the *Junta* was

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hindred, partly by the hopes they were ſtill in of gaining the Nobles to joyn with 'em, but chiefly by the feeble Fear of making their Caſe deſperate, which, conſidering what they had already done, was certainly a great weakneſs in them.

The King, who had not ſeem'd to regard the Remonſtrances which had been made to him by the Cardinal, and others, concerning the Dangers his Crown was in, in *Caſtile*, when he heard of the *Junta*'s having got his Mother into their hands, and of its being given out, and univerſally believed that ſhe was perfectly in her Senſes, and had promiſed to take the Government of the Kingdom upon her ſelf, he was very much alarm'd, and judging it to be abſolutely neceſſary for him to do ſomething to quiet the minds of the *Caſtilians*, and to give them hopes of having all their Grievances redreſſed, he appointed the Conſtable, and Admiral of *Caſtile*, in Conjunction with the Cardinal, Governours of the Kingdom, and promiſed to return ſpeedily to *Caſtile*, and to call a *Cortes*, and therein to grant his good People all that they could in reaſon deſire of him.

But when this Commiſſion arrived, and was opened, as the Conſtable and Admiral did both declare that they would not accept of it, becauſe it did not give them Power

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Power ſufficient to accommodate Matters with the Commons, ſo the *Junta* declared it to be void, for two Reaſons;

1. *Becauſe it made the Cardinal, who was a Foreigner, one of their Governours.*

2. *Becauſe it had been ſigned out of the Kingdom, which, they ſaid, ſuch a Commiſſion ought not to be.*

But at this time a Letter of the Cardinal's to the King was intercepted, and made publick by the *Junta*, which, as it encreaſed their former good Opinion of the Cardinal, ſo it confirm'd 'em in their Deſpair of ever obtaining any Redreſs of their Grievances from the Court. In which Letter the Cardinal told the King, with a *Dutch Freedom*, That all the Miſeries of *Caſtile* had flow'd from his own Side, and that as often as he conſidered how great the Evils were which that Kingdom had been brought under by his Covetous and Tyrannical Miniſters, and how he had left the *Caſtilians*, without giving them any Hopes of ſeeing thoſe Evils ever remedied, he knew not well how to condemn the Commons, ſeeing their Caſe ſo deſperate, for having had Recourſe to Arms: He told the King farther, That he muſt not hope ever to ſee a good End put to the preſent Di-

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Diſturbances, until *Caſtile* found it ſelf governed by its King, and according to its Laws, and not according to the Wills and Paſſions of covetous and arbitrary Miniſters: And that the King might not truſt too much to the Power and good Affection of the Nobles, he aſſur'd him, that they were no leſs diſcontented than the Commons, with the Government of his Miniſters; the *Conde* of *Beneventum* having told him plainly, that if the King did not ſatisfy the Commons, by granting them all their juſt Demands, he was reſolved to join with them; and for the Admiral, that he had ſaid openly, That the Sparks in *Germany*, who had no Honours and Eſtates in *Caſtile* to loſe, and who, after they had enraged the Commons almoſt to Madneſs, were got out of their Reach, muſt not think, that they who had both to loſe, and were in the Jaws of the enraged Commons, would not take ſome Courſe to preſerve themſelves, and their Families; and that he had ſaid farther, That he would join with the Commons, to help them to a Redreſs of their known great Grievances. In the Concluſion, he told the King, that if he did not remove all thoſe Miniſters that had oppreſs'd and provok'd the *Caſtilians* ſo highly, and did not govern the *Caſtilians* with more Wiſdom and Moderation, they would

would certainly lay both him and his Miniſters aſide, at leaſt, whilſt his Mother liv'd, who in one great Point was ſaid by the *Caſtilians, To be wiſer than her Son*; which was, that none could perſwade her to part with any thing, whereas her Son knew not how to deny any thing to the Harpies he was govern'd by.

The Commons made great Uſe of this Letter to juſtify their having taken up Arms; as they did alſo of a new Project of the Northern Miniſters, which had fallen into their Hands, how the Revenues of the Crown might be ſo encreas'd, that the King ſhould never have any Occaſion to call a *Cortes* for Money.

The Admiral advancing with his Army near to *Rioſeco*, left it there, and without having ſeen the Cardinal, went, attended only by his Menial Servants, to *Tordeſillas*; where finding the Gates ſhut againſt him, he ſent a Servant to deſire Leave to come in, having an Affair of great Moment to communicate to the *Junta*, and which he was certain would be acceptable to them.

But the *Junta* knowing the Admiral to be a crafty Man, ſent him out Word, *That if he had any thing to communicate to them, he might do it by Writing.* The Admiral then deſir'd, *That his Kinſman* Giron *might*

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be ſent out to hear what he had to offer. But he being left by the *Junta* to his Liberty, to go out to the Admiral or ſtay, ſent him Word, *That the Poſt he was in would not ſuffer him to wait upon him*, knowing very well, that if he had gone out to him, he ſhould have encreas'd the Jealouſies the Commons had of him already.

But tho the Admiral was much diſpleas'd with the *Junta*, for denying to hear what he had to offer to them, yet being met, when he was come near to *Rioſeca*, by the Cardinal, with all the Troops he had got about him, he cry'd out to the Soldiers, *You muſt turn your Arms againſt the* Moors, *and not againſt the Commons of* Caſtile, *who are our own Fleſh and Blood, and muſt not be reduced to Obedience by Force, but by a Redreſs of all their true Grievances.* And ſo zealous did the Admiral appear to have theſe Commotions ended in that manner, that he went within a few Days a ſecond time to *Tordeſillas*, attended only by his own Domeſticks, where finding the Gates ſhut again, he deſired the *Junta*, if they would not ſuffer him to come in, to ſend out ſome Deputies to hear what he had to offer; which having been done, the Admiral delivered the following *Articles* to the Deputies, offering, if the *Commons* would be ſatisfy'd with them, to join with them until the

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the King ſhould give his Aſſent to their being paſs'd into Laws.

The *Articles* were,

I. *That none that are not Natives of* Caſtile, *ſhall be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.*
II. *That it ſhould not be lawful to ſend Money out of the Kingdom.*
III. *That the Exciſes ſhall be reduced to what they were formerly.*
IV. *That the Authority of the* Alcaides *of the Court ſhall be retrenched.*
V. *That the great Expences of the Court ſhall be leſſened.*
VI. *That ſumptuary Laws ſhall be made.*
VII. *That no Wool ſhall be exported.*
Laſtly, *That all the Commodities of the Kingdom ſhall be exported on Homebuilt Bottoms.*

The *Articles* having been peruſed by the Deputies, the Admiral ask'd them, *What they thought of them?* They told him, *They had no Power to conclude or treat, but only to report to the* Junta *what ſhould be offer'd.* He then deſired to know, whether they believed the *Junta* would be ſatisfy'd with them; they anſwered, *They did not think they would*; and being asked why, they ſaid, *Becauſe they had*

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had rejected better Articles, offered to them by the Procurators of Burgos, *from the Conſtable.* However, they promiſed to make a true Report to the *Junta* of all that he had ſaid and offered; which having been done, the *Junta* ſent the Admiral out Word, *That tho all that he had offer'd was good, yet it fell ſo much ſhort of what the Commons inſiſted on, and with good Reaſon, that they could not, without betraying the Truſt repoſed in them by the Commons of* Caſtile, *be ſatisfy'd with ſo little,* and did therefore refer him to the *Manifeſto,* which had been publiſhed by them, of the Things the Commons inſiſted on having granted; entreating him, as he loved his Country, to join with them upon thoſe Terms. This Anſwer ſo incenſed the Admiral, that being return'd to *Rioſeco,* he took upon him the Title of one of the Governours of the Kingdom; and having called a Council the next Day, he declared in it, *That the Commons were ſo high and unreaſonable in their Demands, that nothing was to be thought of but fighting it out with them.* And accordingly all that were in Arms, under the Name of the Communities of *Caſtile,* and all their Counſellors and Abetters, were, by Sound of Trumpet, commanded to lay down their Arms, and to diſſolve all their *Junta's* and Councils, upon Pain of High-Treaſon; offering them

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a Pardon for all that was paſt, if they did ſo immediately. Which Proclamation was ſo far from ſtriking any Terror into the *Junta*, that they anſwer'd it with another, which they commanded to be read in all the Markets of *Caſtile*; wherein they declared all, of whatſoever Degree or Quality, that ſhould by Force of Arms, or by any other way oppoſe the *Commons* of *Caſtile*, in the aſſerting of their Rights and juſt Liberties, and in their Endeavours to remove evil Counſellors, and bring them to condign Puniſhment, to be Traytors to their Sovereign Queen and their Country, commanding all People to look on them, and treat them as ſuch, upon Pain of Death.

The Admiral, who did not expect to have had his Proclamation ſo briskly anſwer'd, was ſorry for what he had done; and being ſenſible that the *Commons*, at that time, were very ſtrong as well as high, he reſumed the Thoughts of amuſing them by Treaties until the *Nevur* Army were got into *Caſtile*; and ſo having added ſome new *Articles* to thoſe which he had formerly offered, he ſent them to *Villabraxim*, where the Army of the *Commons* had their Head Quarters, by Fryar *Antony de Guevara*, who at that time was much cry'd up by the Commons for the Freedom he had uſed with the

the Miniſters and the Nobles, in ſome Sermons which he had lately preached at *Rioſeco*.

Fryar *Antony*, who was a vain ſelf-conceited Man, imagining that nothing was able to withſtand the Force of his Oratory, gladly accepted of this Employment; but having gone five times betwixt *Rioſeco* and *Villabraxim*, without being able to obtain an Audience, he grew angry, and was ſo clamorous, that the *Junta* thought fit to appoint ſome Deputies to hear what he had to offer; who having called Fryar *Antony* before them, he begun an Harangue, which laſted above half an Hour, in which he wiſhed that the Deputies had heard the Sermons which had been lately preached by him before the Governours and the Nobles that were at *Rioſeco*; and of which, becauſe they had not been ſo happy as to hear them, he gave them ſome Account, and particularly of the bold and free Expreſſions which he had uſed; and after having told them how roughly he had treated the Nobles, he took the *Junta* to task, and repreſented all their Deſigns and Actions in the blackeſt Colours his hot Head could furniſh his fluent Tongue withal, and without ſparing to reflect ſeverely on ſeveral of the Deputies that were preſent, as Ring-leaders of Sedition, and Enemies to Peace.

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When the *Fryar* had done his Declamation, which was much more like the Speech of a *Tertullus*, than of a Mediator, the Commissioners demanded a Copy of it, together with the Propositions he was ready to make; both which he delivered to them in Writing, and assured them in the King's and the Governour's, and, which was more, in his own Name, that they should all be faithfully observed to them, if they were accepted by the *Junta*; which, having had the Propositions and Declamation sent to them, judged, that the Propositions having nothing new in them that was material, should have no Answer returned to them; but for the Declamation, they commanded the Bishop of *Zamora*, who was one of the Deputies, *To give it the Answer that it deserved, and so dismiss the sawcy Fryar*, commanding him, *not to presume to come any more to* Villabraxim, *or to any other Place which had declared it self for the Commons.*

The Deputies having ordered Fryar *Antony* to appear before them, the Bishop of *Zamora* gave him the following Reprimand.

Fryar *Anthony de Guevara*.

THE Declamation you made here the other Day, was long, silly, and saucy. I must tell you, that you preach to us like a Boy that neither understood what he said, nor what he would be at. You must certainly either have taken the Habit of a Fryar upon you when you were very young, or you must be one of strong Passions and a weak Judgment, or else you could never have imagined, that by such a Declamation, you should have been able to have perswaded us to accept of what you had to offer. I have been told, that you were one of a free and bold Tongue: and so long as you exercised that Faculty on the Nobles, you were reckoned to have some Judgment as well as Zeal. But tho they bore with you when you lashed them as they deserved, there is not the same Reason that we should suffer you to rail at us as you did the other Day. And I must tell you, that it was happy for you, that none of our Captains were present when you did it; for if they had, they would certainly have made that saucy and impudent Declamation your last: for which, tho we should have been very sorry,

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we should not have known how to have helped it. However, since a Fryar in his Cell may possibly not be sensible of what this poor Kingdom has suffered thorough the Covetousness and Tyranny of foreign Counsellors, we will judge charitably of your Intentions, tho we cannot but condemn the Folly and Sawcineſs of your Words; and for the future, when you speak to Persons of Gravity and Authority, you must learn to observe the Rules of Decency and good Manners; and when you would perswade People to any thing, you must use soft Words, and not such as provoke and exasperate. Go therefore in God's Name, and do not you come among us any more. For if you do, you will be treated as a Spy. And for those you call the Governours, you may tell them, that tho they may have Power to promise, it does not appear that they have Power to perform.

But tho Fryar *Antony* did not succeed in his publick Negotiation, yet, if he may be believed, he did in his private Negotiation with *Giron*, who, he saith, was engag'd by him to betray the *Junta*. But as it is not probable that *Giron* did ever betray his Party, so if he did, it was by Persons of higher Quality and better Conduct that he was perswaded to it, and particularly, the Admiral's Lady, who was his near Kinswoman; and who, after Fryar *Antony*'s Nego-

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tiation was at an end, went several times to *Tordesillas*, when *Giron* was there, to promote a Conjunction of the Nobles with the Commons, for whom and for their Cause that Lady pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal.

But whoever it was that perswaded *Giron* to betray the Commons, if he ever did it, it is certain, that the *Junta*, in Order to remove the Governours farther from the Queen and their Head-Quarters, did, by *Giron's* Advice, command their Army, which had been quartered about *Tordesillas*, to march, and make themselves Masters of *Villa Panda*; by which Means they hoped to be able so to hinder Provisions from going to *Rioseco*, that the Governours would be forc'd to leave it. But *Villa Panda* was no sooner invested by their Army, than the Admiral was before the Gates of *Tordesillas*, with a Body of three thousand disciplin'd Foot and seven hundred Horse; and having, in the King's Name, summoned the *Junta* to surrender the Town to him, upon their denying to do it, he assaulted it on all Sides at once, and in a few Hours carry'd it by Storm, but with the Loss of a great part of his Men. For the People, but above all the Priests and Fryars, defended the Place until their Ammunition was all spent; and one Priest was particularly observed

ſerved to have given eleven Men their *Viaticum* with his Muſket from behind the Battlements of the Wall: Neither would they after that capitulate, but defended their Walls to the very laſt with Sword in Hand. The Admiral, though he carry'd the Place by Aſſault, gave Quarter, and moſt of the Procurators of the *Junta* falling into his Hands, he made them cloſe Priſoners, giving the Plunder of the Town to his ill paid Soldiers.

When the Admiral firſt appeared before the Town, the Queen was deſired by the *Junta* to go upon the Walls, and command him, upon Pain of High-Treaſon, not to attack a Place where ſhe was in Perſon; which ſhe not only refuſed to do, but commanded them to go and open the Gates to him, ſaying, *The Nobles had never been Traytors to the Crown of* Caſtile.

Since I ſhall hereafter have no Occaſion to ſpeak of this diſtemper'd Queen, I ſhall here acquaint the Reader, that ſhe lived near 50 Years in this melancholy Retirement; and towards the latter End of her Life, (which ended in the Year 1555.) ſhe grew outragious. By ſeveral of her Son *Charles* the V*th*'s Actions, when he was in the Monaſtery of St. *Juſte*, I am inclin'd to think, that in the reſigning of all his Crowns, and retiring to a Convent, there was a

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Spice of his Mother's Melancholy, which he found coming upon him. I shall here relate some of those Actions, as they are recorded in his Life, written by *Sandoval*, his great Admirer, and leave it to the Reader to judge of their Merits.

The Emperor had one Day a Mind to ride in the Walks of the Garden of the Monastery; but having mounted an Hackney, tho he was but low, he had not gone four Steps before he cry'd out to be taken down, for that his Head swimmed so that he was not able to sit his Horse any longer.

His Bed-Chamber in the Monastery being placed so, that he could lie a Bed (as he did commonly) and hear Mass, and all the other Church-Offices in the Quire; and he being a great Lover of Musick, and well skilled in it, the best Voices of the Order were brought from all Parts into the Quire of the Monastery. Among the rest, one that was a famous Counter-Tenor was brought from *Placentia*; but the Emperor disliked his Voice or Skill so much, that the first time he sang in the Quire, he dispatch'd one of his Bed-Chamber in great Haste to the Prior, to let him know, *That he must not suffer that Man to sing any more in his Chappel.* And he was often over-heard saying to himself when any did

did not sing true, *That red-hair'd Son of a Whore is out.*

One *Guerrero*, who was Master of Musick in the Church of *Sevil*, having presented the Emperor with a new Set of Church-Musick, the Emperor commanded one of his Masses to be forthwith sung in the Chappel, which being ended, he called his Confessor, and said to him, *What a Son of a Whore and cunning Thief is this* Guerrero; *such a Pass he has stole from one, and such a Pass from another*, naming them.

About eight Days before he died, he called a *Fleming* to him (of which Nation all his Servants were that attended him in the Monastery) and said to him, *Nicholas, Dost thou know what I am thinking of? No, Sir*, said *Nicholas*, *how can I tell that? I'll tell thee then*, said the Emperor, *I am thinking of the* 2000 *Crowns which I have hoarded up, and that they shall be all forthwith laid out in Funeral Honours for me. Your Majesty*, reply'd *Nicholas*, *need take no Care of that, for whenever you die we will see to have those Solemnities performed for you. What a Fool are you*, Nicholas, said the Emperor; *for is it not the same thing to have a lighted Candle carried before or behind?*

(Not to relate the Dialogues he had with his *Flemish* Cook, Baker and Gardener, and with a Boy he saw out of his Window

beating Walnuts off a Tree that was near).

As he left *Valedolid* to go to his Monaſtery amidſt a terrible Tempeſt, notwithſtanding all that his Daughter (who at that time, and during his whole Life was Governeſs of *Spain*) or his two Siſters could ſay to diſſwade him from it; ſo during all the time he was in the Monaſtery, not one of them did ever go to viſit him, nor ſend any Meſſage to him, that we read of, which they might have done, if they had thought it fit, without having interrupted his Devotion ſo much as it was interrupted by his Dialogues with his *Flemiſh* Servants; beſides the Benefits they might have received from his Example and good Inſtructions. It is true, in the Monaſtery a large Codicil was added to his Will, which he had made in *Flanders*; but as that was a thing in which all that were about him were concern'd in Intereſt to have done, ſo had his Son, King *Philip*, believ'd him not to have been *Compos Mentis* all the time he was in the Convent, he could not have diſregarded all that was contain'd in that long Codicil more than he did. But this by the way.

When the News of this terrible Blow reached *Villa Panda*, the Army, which had made themſelves Maſters of that Place without any Loſs, was ready to have mutiny'd, and it was in every Body's Mouth, that

that they had been betray'd by *Giron*, and had been drawn by him from about *Tordesillas* on purpose to give the Admiral an opportunity to surprize it; and *Giron* fearing, that if he staid any longer with the Army, he might be torn in pieces by the Soldiers, stole out of *Villa Panda* by Night, and tho when he was miss next Morning, every Body concluded that he was gone to the Admiral to receive the Reward of his Treachery, he never went near him, but fled directly to a remote Castle, where he lived privately till the Wars were ended: And tho after that, his Life was spared, he was banished, for the whole Term of it, into *Africk*. So that if he did betray his Party, abating the twelve extraordinary Privileges, which Fryar *Anthony*, in a consolatory Letter to him, told him, were annexed to the Happiness of a Person of Quality, being banished his native Country, he was but ill rewarded for that Service.

The Procurators of the *Junta*, who had escaped falling into the Admiral's hands, fled to *Valedolid*, from whence they dispatch a Currier to their Army, commanding it to come to 'em with all possible Expedition. The Army did so, having left a strong Garrison in their dear-bought *Villa Panda*, which, now the Governours had left

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left *Rioseco*, and were removed to *Tordesillas*, was of little use to the Commons. And *Padilla* fearing lest the Admiral might have followed his Blow, and have attacked *Valladolid*, threw himself into that City, with the Recruits he had raised at *Toledo*, in order to have formed a Flying Camp.

Now seeing it would have required time to have filled up the *Juntas* with new Procurators, a select Number was presently chosen by the Heads of the Commons, to have the Supreme Government in all Publick Affairs, with the Title of *a Council of State*. And as this New Council, finding the Queen in the hands of the Nobles, never made use of her Name, but in conjunction with her Son's, according to the Constitution of the *Cortes*, so from its very Birth it pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Person, and the Support of his Royal Dignity, giving out, that if the King would but grant the Commons their just Demands, they would make him the Greatest and Richest Prince that ever wore the Crown of *Castile*, by a Resumption of all the Crown Lands, which were in the Possession of the Nobles. And so confident were the Commons that the Court would bite at this great Bait, that it was in every Body's Mouth, that yet before Harvest, the Nobles would be all sent a begging,

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and that without being injured, ſeeing all their Eſtates had been given to their Anceſtors by weak Princes, to whom they had been worthleſs Favourites, and not on account of any Services, which had ever been done by them, either to the Crown, or to their Country: Inſomuch, that the Commons now ſeem'd quite to have dropt their Quarrel with the Northern Miniſters, to fall the heavier upon the Nobles, and after this, no Grievance was ſo much inſiſted on, as the whole Charge of the Government being thrown upon the Commons, by the Nobles having robb'd the Crown of all its ancient Lands and Revenues; which intolerable Burden the Commons declared they would not bear any longer.

But to whatſoever this great and ſudden Change in the Commons owed its Birth, whether only to the great Indignation they had conceived againſt the Nobles, for having taken the Queen out of their Hands; or to a Deſign of terrifying the Nobles into a Conjuction with them; or to their having entertained ſome hopes, that they might have gain'd the King and his Miniſters by the Tender of ſo great a Donative, as that of all the Alienated Crown-Lands and Revenues, or to the Perſons whereof this new Council conſiſted, being better

better affected to Monarchy, than the leading Men in the *Junta*, who were strongly suspected of having had a design to form *Castile* into a Commonwealth; certain it is, that after this new Council was erected, the Nobles having robb'd the Crown of all its Lands, was made the chief and standing Grievance of the Kingdom; and the Publick Evil, which of all others, the Commons seemed to have set their Hearts the most on having remedy'd. This Council was likewise careful not to employ any, of whose Fidelity they were not well assured. And not judging it to be safe to trust a single Person any more with the chief Command of their Armies, they appointed the Bishop of *Zamora*, and *Don Gonzalo Guſman*, Nephew to the Commendador of *Calatrava*, and *James Guſman*, in one Commission, joint Generaliſſimo of all their Forces. But the Soldiers, who were for having *Padilla* and none else for their General, would all have mutiny'd upon this Commission, had not *Padilla* gone among them, and told them, *That the Chief Command had been offer'd to him by the Council, and that he knowing himself not to be qualify'd for so difficult a Post, thorow his want of Years and Experience, had absolutely refuſed both to be ſole Generaliſſimo, and to be one of the Three, to the intent that he might command the Forces of* Toledo, which

which he had undertaken; *it being a Burden heavy enough for his young Shoulders.* And upon the Soldiers, not being satisfy'd with that Command's having been given from him, upon his having been so modest as to refuse it; he told them plainly, That if they did not immediately approve of, and submit to what the Council had done, he would leave the Army, and retire to his Country House, and not meddle any more with Publick Business. The Soldiers perceiving by this, that *Padilla* was in earnest, promised to obey their new Generals in all things; and new Levys of Men being ordered to be made in all the Provinces, the People listed themselves every where in much greater Numbers than they had ever done before; so that within a Month after the loss of *Tordesillas*, the Commons were much stronger in the Field than ever they had been since the beginning of the Troubles.

But there were two things the Council imitated the *Junta* in, and which in the end were the Ruin of them both. The one was, the keeping, in a manner, only on the Defence; whence though for above eighteen Months, they had the whole Kingdom almost at their Devotion; yet neither of them did any thing in a Martial way, that was considerable, towards the disabling of

the Nobles to make Head against them. The other was, That the Council, notwithstanding its having begun so briskly with the Nobles, as to threaten them with a Resumption of all the Crown-Lands, did afterwards no less than the *Junta* suffer it self to be amused with Treaty after Treaty, until a powerful Army was brought out of *Navar* to destroy them.

But in the mean while the Admiral perceiving that the Commons by the great blow he had given them, were become both stronger and more resolute than they were before, endeavoured to have created a Jealousy in them of all the Nobles that were among them, by some Letters which he pretended to write to the King, but which he took care to have intercepted by the Council: In which Letters he told the King that the Nobles, which were among the Commons, were grown so weary of serving them, that they were entred into a secret Treaty with him, and did all offer, if they might be assured of a Pardon, to leave the Commons to his Mercy. And having named all the Nobles that were among the Commons, he earnestly intreated the King, That they might all have their Pardons in as ample a Form as they could desire; assuring him, That the Commons, so soon

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as they were deserted by those Nobles, would quickly moulder away, and come to nothing. But this Stratagem of the Admiral's was defeated, by his over-acting in it. His naming *Padilla* and some others of the Nobles in those Letters, of whose Fidelity to them the Commons were too well assured, to entertain the least Suspicion of their being in any such secret Correspondence to their Prejudice, made the Council conclude, that it was nothing but a Trick of the Admiral's, to make them mistrust their best Friends; so that instead of being jealous of those Persons that were named in the Admiral's Letters, they confided the more in them, for his having named them; concluding from thence, that they were in no Correspondence with him.

This Trick of the Admiral's succeeding so ill, his next was, to get the Pope's Nuncio to offer his Master's Mediation, which that Minister, who was entirely in the Interest of the Court and the Nobles, was so forward to do, that he counterfeited a Letter from the Cardinal *de Medicis*, by whom the Papacy was governed at that time, commanding him to offer it. This Mediation being first offer'd to the Governours, and to the Nobles, they readily accepted of it; and the Council of the Commons, tho they were sensible, that the Nuncio in this

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Negotiation would be the Admiral's Spy or Agent, much rather than a Mediator, yet fearing leſt it might bring them under a great Odium, ſhould they refuſe the Pope's Mediation, they accepted of it too, when it was offered to them, but at the ſame time did intend to obſerve the Nuncio narrowly; and, if it were poſſible, not to ſuffer him to come within the Gates of *Valedolid*. And accordingly, Word being ſent to them by the Nuncio, that he intended to be with them the next Day, they ordered the Deputies named by them for the Treaty, to go and meet the Nuncio, and conduct him to a Monaſtery of St. *Hierom*, that ſtood in the Suburbs.

But the Nuncio, when he was in the Monaſtery, being told by the Deputies that was the Place the Council had appointed to treat with him in, anſwered them in a great Paſſion, that if he were not ſuffered to treat with the Council it ſelf, and in the City, he would immediately give over his Mediation; the diſtruſting the Sincerity of the Miniſter of the Common Father of *Chriſtendom*, in a Mediation of Peace (as it was plain they did) being ſuch an Affront as was never before put upon his Holineſs by any that were called Catholicks; Which Anſwer being ſent to the Council, tho it encreaſed

ſed their Suſpition of him, yet, dreading leſt they ſhould offend the Pope, by thus diſtruſting his Nuncio, they ordered their Deputies to let him know, that Lodgings were provided for him in the City, and that they were ready to hear what he had to deſire of them. The *Portugal* Ambaſſador, who was in Company with the Nuncio, offered his Maſter's Mediation likewiſe; but the Council knowing him to be a Tool of the Admiral's, put him off, by telling him, that they hoped the Nuncio alone would be able to accommodate Matters. That Miniſter however kept cloſe to the Nuncio, who having had an Audience of the Council in an Hour or two after he was in *Valedolid*, deſired them to let him have their loweſt Terms they were content to come to an Agreement with the Nobles upon; which being put into the Nuncio's Hands the next Day, he ſent them by his Secretary to the Governours, who having peruſed them, deſired that the Place of the Treaty might be an Houſe which ſtood in the Mid-way, betwixt *Tordeſillas* and *Valedolid*; and that the Deputies of the Commons might have full Power to treat and conclude upon all Points, as their Deputies ſhould have.

But tho the Council agreed to the Place nominated by the Nobles for the Treaty,

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they would not give their Deputies Power to conclude any thing before they were acquainted with it, and had approv'd of it, notwithstanding the Nuncio urged them strongly to have done it.

But the next Morning as the Nuncio and the *Portugal* Ambassador were going out of the Gates, with the Deputies of the Commons, to the Place of Treaty, the Guards observing that those Ministers had two laden Mules more in their Retinue than they had when they came, their whole Retinue was stopp'd by an Order from the Council; and their Baggage being narrowly search'd, there was a great Sum of Money found in it; which, after a short Examination, was discover'd to have been paid by a Banker in *Valedolid*, to a Servant of the Nuncio's, by the Admiral's Order; which Money, as was suppos'd, the Nuncio was to have employ'd in Bribes, to some of the chief of the Commons Deputies at the Place of the Treaty.

The Nuncio returning in a great Storm to his Lodgings, sent his Secretary to the Council, to demand the Money that had been taken from him, and Satisfaction for the Affront that had been put upon the Common Father of *Christendom*, accusing them of having violated the Laws of all Nations, in what had been done to him by their

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their Officers; and, as he was told, by their Order. The Council bid the Secretary tell his Maſter, That they could juſtify what they had done, and that, were it not for the great Veneration which they had for his Holineſs, whoſe Miniſter he was, tho unworthy of that Character, they would have made him know, that one that had taken upon him the Perſon of a Mediator, ought not be employ'd as an Agent by either Side. And as for the Money, they ſaid, they knew it was none of his, but the Admiral's, and that they were reſolved to keep it.

The Nuncio having receiv'd this Anſwer, left *Valedolid*; and when he came to *Tordeſillas*, he told the Admiral in a Fury, that the Commons were Rebels, fit to be hanged, and not to be treated withal, and that there was no other way of reducing them to Obedience, but by purſuing them in all Places with Fire and Sword.

But the Admiral having ſomething more in *Caſtile* to loſe than the angry Nuncio, did not think fit to take his Counſel; only to gratify him a little, he writ a Letter, and ſent it by a Trumpeter to the Magiſtrates of *Valedolid*, commanding them upon Pain of High-Treaſon, to diſſolve the Council that was in their City; and having done that, to lay down their Arms,

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and return to the Obedience of good Subjects.

To which Letter the following Anſwer was returned by the ſame Trumpeter, by the Magiſtrates of that City:

THE Letter your Excellency ſent us by this Trumpeter, contains two Heads: The Firſt is a Command to return to the Obedience of their Catholick Majeſties. And, the Second, is a Threat, to purſue us as Rebels, if we do not preſently comply with this your Command.

As to the Firſt; As this noble City, and in Truth all the Commons of Caſtile, *have been always faithful to their Princes; ſo it was nothing but the great Affection and Zeal this City has for their Catholick Majeſties, that induced them to join themſelves to the reſt of the Commons that are now in Arms, by whom nothing is deſired that is not for their Catholick Majeſties Intereſt, as well as for the Intereſt of the whole Kingdom; to both which great Intereſts the Nobles are at this time, and have always been Enemies. For who were they that apprehended King* John, *and made him a cloſe Priſoner? Were they not the Nobles? And by whom was that King ſet at Liberty, and reſtored to his Royal Dignity? Was it not by the Commons, and particularly thoſe of this City? And*

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And who were they that depriv'd King Henry, *Son to that King* John, *of his Crown, and after an ignominious Manner gave it to his Brother? Were they not the Nobles? And by whom were the Authors of all theſe Evils driven out of* Abula, *and that King reſtored? Was it not by the Commons? And by whom but by the Nobles were the* Portugueze *brought into this Kingdom, with an Intention of taking the Crown from Queen* Iſabella, *and her Husband* Don Ferdinand, *to give it to a Stranger? And by whom were the* Portugueze *driven out of this Kingdom, and the Crown ſecured, but by the Commons?*

And who are they but the Nobles that have robb'd the Crown of its ancient Lands and Revenues, ſo that in the hundred Leagues which are betwixt this City and that of Compoſtella, *the Crown has only three Towns, the reſt being all in the Poſſeſſion of the Nobles; by which Means the Crown is forced to burden the Commons with new Taxes and Tributes, to ſupport its Authority and Dignity. And for that Reaſon the Commons, before they will lay down their Arms, are reſolved to have all the alienated Lands and publick Revenues reſtored to the Crown; the great Riches of the Nobility, and the Poverty of the Crown being viſibly the great and ſtanding Grievance of the Kingdom. And whereas the Commons, if their Catholick Majeſties will but be pleaſed to grant them all their*

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just Demands, will desire nothing farther of them; when the Nobles shall bring in the Account of the Charges they have been at in this War against their Country, the small Pittance of Lands that remain still to the Crown will not be found sufficient to satisfy them.

As to your threatning to pursue us as Rebels, with Fire and Sword, if we do not presently yield Obedience to your Command; it is not unlikely that you, and the Nobles that are with you, may begin such a War upon us, but if you do, as we know certainly that it will be offensive to God, and contrary to their Catholick Majesties Intentions, and pernicious to our common Country, so we are resolved to fight it out with you. And as we aim at nothing but the Support of their Majesties Authority, and the Security of the Laws and publick Liberties of the Kingdom; so we doubt not but thorough God's Assistance, in so just a Cause, we shall be able not only to defend our selves against all your Violences, but to destroy all the Forces you shall be able to bring into the Field against us.

We do nevertheless, out of the great Love we have for our common Country, and to prevent the Misery and Desolation it will be brought under by such a War, once more entreat you, and the Nobles that are with you, to join with the Commons, in supplicating his Majesty to redress all their great Grievances; which if you shall con-

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continue to refuse to do, we will come against you with the Armies of their Catholick Majesties, as against Traytors and Enemies to your Country.

It is plain from this last Paragraph, that the Commons, for all their talking so high of stripping the Nobles of all their Crown-Lands, would have let them alone with those, if they would but have joined with them to have procur'd the redressing of their other Grievances; for it would otherwise have been a Madness in the Commons to have expected that of them.

The Council, by whose Directions this Answer was returned to the Admiral's Letter, to let him know how they resented his Carriage towards them, order'd Part of their Army to go and sack *Tarrelubaton*, a Castle that belong'd to him; with which Design the Admiral being acquainted, by the Spies he had among the Commons, march'd with all the Troops he could draw together, to have covered it; but not finding himself strong enough to face the Forces that came against it, he withdrew to some Mountains that were near; from whence he look'd on, and saw his Castle plunder'd and burnt down to the Ground; and as he was retreating to *Tordesillas*, the Commons sent him Word by one of his

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Servants, *That it should not be long before they would make that Place too hot for him.* Presently after they plundered and sacked *Ligalos*, a Castle of the *Conde* of *Beneventum*, and bid his Servants go and tell their Lord, *That they who were Enemies to the Liberties of their Country, ought not be suffered to have any Fortresses in it, to support their Tyrannies.*

Had the Commons handled the Grandees thus a Year sooner, they had certainly forc'd them to join with them; but it was now too late, the *Navar* Army being now ready to enter *Castile*. But to put a Stop to their present furious Hostilities, till that Army came to put an end to them, the Bishop of *Laodicea*, and *Garcia Loiasa*, a famous *Dominican*, who were both very popular, were dispatch'd by the Admiral to *Valedolid*, to try if they could obtain a Cessation of Arms of the Council, and could set on foot a new Treaty.

But the Council, when it was vehemently sollicited by those two popular Ecclesiasticks for a Cessation and a new Treaty, told them plainly, *That they had been so often abused by such Shams, that they were resolved never to listen to any Proposition made to them by the Admiral:* Neither would they, had not *Padilla*, to whom they did not well know how to deny any thing, desired that there

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there might be a Ceſſation only for a Week, that the Recruits of *Toledo*, which had begun to march, might get up to the Army without being diſturbed. Upon which ſhort Ceſſation, a Treaty was likewiſe yielded to; at which the Admiral and Nobles offered ſuch Terms to the Commons, that *Don Peter de Laſſo*, *Padilla*, and moſt of the Commons Deputies were ſo far ſatisfy'd, as to endeavour to have promoted a Conjunction upon them.

But the Council, when thoſe Propoſitions came to be reported to it, rejected them for two Reaſons: The one was, That they fell ſhort of redreſſing ſome of the Commons chief Grievances. And the other was, That they did not give the Commons a ſufficient Security of the Fidelity of the Nobles, if they ſhould join with them. And thus ended the laſt Treaty betwixt the Nobles and the Commons, their Differences being, after that, left to the Sword to decide.

And ſo the Council having had Intelligence, that the Prior of St. *John* had got a conſiderable Body of Men together about *Mota*, and was very active againſt them, they ſent the Biſhop of *Zamora*, with a Force much ſuperiour to the Prior's, to clear the Country of him. But the Prior, when the Biſhop drew near him, finding that he was

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was not strong enough to keep the Field, pretended to be so great a Friend to the Commons and their Cause, that he offered to join his Troops to those of the Bishop, to maintain it. And having by this Pretence obtained a Truce for two Days, he fell upon the Bishop the Night before the Expiration of that Term; and having made a great Slaughter of his Men before they could stand to their Arms, the rest were all dispersed; the Bishop himself narrowly escaping being made a Prisoner.

The Prior endeavoured to excuse this Breach of Faith, by pretending that his Men had fallen upon the Bishop without his Order; and the Town of *Meta*, which had been the Prior's Head-Quarters, having in his Absence declared for the Commons, shut its Gates against him, tho he return'd to it victorious. And being resolv'd to defend it self against him to the last, assoon as the Prior began to Fire upon them, they lodg'd all their Women, Children, and best Goods in the great Church, from whose Tower they annoy'd the *Prior* very much with a Piece of Canon they had planted upon it; but a Barrel of Powder happening to take Fire in the Tower, shook the Church so, that its whole Roof fell in, and killed all that were under it: By which terrible Blow, the Besieged were so

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so disheartned, that they immediately capitulated, and delivered the Town to the Prior.

The People of *Burgos*, being alarm'd with the News of a great and well-disciplin'd Army, which had been drawn out of *Navar*, advancing towards them, seiz'd on the Constable: And having made him a Prisoner, they sent to the Council for Men, Artillery and Ammunition, to defend their City, in Case it should be attacked, as they had Cause to fear it would very speedily. The Council knowing of how great Importance it was to their Affairs, not to suffer that City to come into the Hands of the Nobles, immediately dispatch'd the Bishop of *Zamora* and *Padilla*, with a great Body of Troops, and all other Necessaries, and with Orders to fortify that City, and put a strong Garrison into it; and to assure the People, that if they were besieged, the whole Force of *Castile* should be sent to their Relief. But before those two Generals were got half way to *Burgos*, they had Intelligence of that City's having come to an Agreement with the Constable, and that they had received the King's Regidor, whom, in the Beginning of the Troubles, they had chased from among them. Upon this sudden Change, *Zamora* and *Padilla* were order'd by the Council to go and help the *Conde*

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de Salva Terra to recover *Ampudia*, which had been taken from him by ſome Troops of *Biſcainers*, upon that *Conde*'s having declar'd himſelf on the Side of the Commons; which having been done by thoſe two Generals, with very little Loſs, they returned to *Medina Campi*, where they refreſhed their Troops (which were much fatiegu'd by a long March thorough a Mountainous Country) until the Recruits of the Cities of *Salamanca*, *Segovia*, and *Abula*, came thither; which Recruits, notwithſtanding all the Admiral's Endeavours to have intercepted them, they convey'd in Safety to *Valedolid*; to which Place ſuch large Recruits came at this time from all Parts of the Kingdom, that the Commons Army was now much greater than it had ever been before.

But as their Soldiers were all raw and undiſciplin'd, ſo among all their General Officers, tho they abounded with ſuch, there was not one of any Experience in War; and among the *Subalterns* there were but few that knew much of it.

And tho the Council could not but be ſenſible, that ſuch a Herd, tho never ſo numerous, and perſonally never ſo ſtout, would not be able to ſtand before the *Veterane* Army that was coming againſt them from *Navar*, we do not read that they ever ap-

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apply'd themſelves to the *French*, tho at that time in open War with the Crown of *Spain*, to have diverted that Army from coming into *Caſtile*, by cutting them out Work at home. And if it is ſtrange that the Council did not make uſe of the *French* to divert an Army which was the only Force that could have deſtroyed them, it is more wonderful that the *French*, who have never ſuffered much by their being too ſlow, ſhould not, without being ſollicited to it, have done the Commons of *Caſtile* ſo great a piece of Service. For tho it is true that the *French* over-run the Kingdom of *Navar*, with the more eaſe, for their not having invaded it, until after the Army was drawn out of it into *Caſtile*; yet by giving that Army leiſure to ſubdue the Commons, (which they muſt needs know it would do with great eaſe) they loſt that Kingdom again, in as ſhort a time as they had conquer'd it, *viz.* upon that Army's returning home victorious, and much ſtronger too by reaſon of it's being reinforced in *Caſtile* by the Admiral's Troops, which could not otherwiſe have been ſpared out of that Kingdom.

It was in this *Navar*-War that *Ignatius Loyola* was, to the great unhappineſs of the whole World, hurt at *Pampelona* with a Bullet: For that hurt prov'd the occaſion

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of his giving over the Soldiers Trade, and of his turning Enthusiast, and becoming afterwards the Contriver of a Society, which has done more Mischief in the World than Bullets and Gunpowder; which truly might have deserved Pardon for a great deal that they have done, had they at this time done their Work thorowly, and kill'd out-right instead of only wounding such an Incendiary.

The *Navar* Army being come near to *Burgos*, the Constable forgetting all the Promises he had made to that City, concerning the redressing of several of the Commons chief Grievances, went and put himself at the head of it; and having taken upon him the Title of one of the Governours of the Kingdom, he by found of Trumpet proclaimed all that were in Arms under the Name of the Communities of *Castile*, or that were any way assisting to them, Traytors: but at the same time, offered them a general Pardon, if they would immediately lay down their Arms, and return home quietly to their Houses. And having put a good Garrison into the Castle of *Burgos*, he marched towards *Tordesillas*, sending to the Admiral to come and meet him with all his Forces, that being joined they might, if it was possible, bring the Commons to a Battle,

tle, before the *French*, who had enter'd *Navar* as soon as the *Spanish* Army was drawn out of it, had made themselves Masters of that Kingdom.

It would certainly have been the Wisdom of the Council to have done all that was in their Power to avoid coming to a Battle. And that they might have done, by drawing their Army out of the Field to garrison their Cities and great Towns; few or none of which the *French* wou'd have allow'd the Governours leisure to have besieged; neither were they provided of a Train of Artillery and other Materials necessary for such a Work. But the Council (instead of taking this Course which in their Circumstances, was certainly the safest) trusting, 'tis like, to their great Numbers, commanded their whole Army to march, and encamp it self about *Turrelabaton*, with Orders to prevent the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, and to Fight either of them single, if they found it necessary to keep them from joyning.

But the Constable, who before had matched directly towards *Turrelabaton*, having received Intelligence of the Commons whole Army being encamped about that Place, altered his Course, and marching Day and Night, chopped betwixt *Valedolid* and *Turrelabaton*, so as to cut off all Com-

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Communication betwixt the Council and their Army. And being there joyned by the Admiral, they immediately sent a Trumpet to *Valedolid*, commanding that City, upon pain of Treason, to lay down their Arms, and to receive the Garrison they were ready to send to them; with which Summons the Magistrates, and others, that had any thing to lose, were so terrify'd, that they were for sending the Keys of their Gates presently to the Governours, with an humble Petition for a General Pardon.

Neither would the Council have been able to have hindred them from doing it, had not a *Dominican*, and a *Trinitarian* Fryar run through the Streets, crying out, the City was betray'd, and would, if it were not speedily prevented, be put into the hands of the Nobles, upon Discretion; with which out-cry, the Populace being raised, they with their two Fryars at their Head, ran in a great Fury to the Town-House, where having threatned to cut the Throat, and burn down the House of the first Man that talk'd of delivering up the City to the Nobles; they brought out the City-Standard, and setting it up in the Field without the Gates, commanded all that were able to bear Arms, upon pain of Death, to repair to it immediately, to defend the

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the City, and the Common Liberties of their Country, which were all at the point of being loſt.

But the Governours being ſenſible, that if the Commons Army were once routed, *Valedolid* and all their other Places would fall into their hands of courſe, never intended to loſe time (which the *French* being victorious in *Navar*, made to be very precious to them) in ſlow Sieges. And accordingly the very next day after their Armies were joined, they marched directly toward *Turrelabaton*, where the Commons Army ſtill remained; and fearing leſt when they heard of their Conjunction, and of their advancing towards them, they might retreat to ſome Mountains which were near, they ſent all their Horſe, with a great number of Trumpets before, with Orders, *If they found the Commons moving towards the Mountains, to fall upon their Rear, and keep them in play till the Foot came up.*

It was ſo as the Governours had apprehended; the Commons Generals, ſo ſoon as they heard of the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, reſolved to decamp, and intrench themſelves among the Mountains, where, if the Governours ſhould attempt to force them to a Battle, their Cavalry, in which their main ſtrength conſiſted, would be but of little uſe to them.

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But as a great, but undiſciplined, and ill Officer'd Army, is an unweildy Body for any regular Motion; ſo before the Commons had diſlodged, news was brought by their Scouts, of the Governour's whole Cavalry being come within a few Miles, and that they marched ſo faſt, that they would quickly be up with them. The Commons raw Generals, who were at their Wits end, were ſo long in deliberating, whether, now that Night was coming on, it would be ſafeſt for them to keep their Ground, and wait for Day-light, or decamp immediately, and make their Retreat in the Dark, that before they could come to any Reſolution upon that point, they were Alarm'd with a mighty noiſe of Trumpets, upon which they commanded the Army to diſlodge immediately, and with the greateſt Silence poſſible to retreat towards the Mountains.

But ſo ſtrangely were the raw Soldiers terrify'd by the Darkneſs of the Night, and the great noiſe of Trumpets, which ſtill drew nearer and nearer, that they no ſooner began to move, than their Horſe and Foot were all thorow one another, and their Ranks being all broke, inſtead of retreating orderly, they fled towards the Mountains in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable. So that the Royal Cavalry, when they came up,

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up, meeting with no manner of Oppoſition, trotted thorow them in the dark, without loſing, or killing one ſingle Man, unleſs it were ſome that they rode over; and before it was light, they had put themſelves betwixt the foremoſt of the Foot and the Mountains. And tho after it was Day, the Commons Officers did all that was poſſible to have brought both their Horſe, which were got among the Mountains, and their Foot into a Body, telling them, that if they would but fall upon the Royal Cavalry, (which was ſo tired with their long March, that their Horſes were ſcarce able to ſtand, or their Riders to ſit them) they might with great eaſe cut them all to pieces; yet ſo great was the Conſternation they were in, that there was no perſwading either the Horſe to face about, or the Foot to draw into a Body to fight their way to them. So the Officers perceiving that it was in vain to ſtrive any longer, ſhifted every Man for himſelf as ſecretly as he could, endeavouring, by bye ways, to get into *Navar*, of which Kingdom they had heard the *French* had made themſelves Maſters.

The Foot laying down their Arms, cry'd out for Quarter, which was not only granted to them, and to all the *Subalterns*, by the Governours, who having left their Foot

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behind them, were at *Turrelabaton* very early in the Morning; but they were all commanded to leave the Field immediately, and run home to their Houses before the Governour's Infantry came up, which wou'd not easily have been kept from stripping them.

But tho the private Centinels and Subalterns were treated so mercifully by the Governours, the General Officers that were taken by some fresh Horse which were sent in pursuit of them, scaped not so well. For *Don John de Padilla*, and *Don John Bravo*, and *Don Francis Maldonada* being taken Prisoners, were all three beheaded the next day after the Rout. *Don Peter Maldonada*, was likewise sentenced to die; but being reprieved, at the Intercession of his Uncle the *Conde* of *Beneventum*, he, and the Bishop of *Zamora* were committed close Prisoners to the Castle of *Simancha*s.

John Bravo, as he was going to the Scaffold, hearing the Cryer that went before him, say, *This is the Justice which his Majesty and the Lord High Constable, with other Governours, do command in his Name, to be executed upon the Persons of these Gentlemen. Their Command is, That they should be beheaded as Traytors, Disturbers of the Kingdom, and Usurpers of the Royal*

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Royal Crown. He reply'd, *Hangman thou lieſt, and thoſe that bid thee ſay ſo; We are no Traytors, but zealous for the Publick Good, and Defenders of the Kingdoms Liberties.* In order to render *John de Padilla*'s Lady, who was every where called *La Muger Valeroſa*, odious to the People, it was given out, that at his Death her Husband had blamed her as the Author of his untimely end, and of all his other Misfortunes. But by the Letter which that Gentleman writ to his Lady on the Day of his Execution, the Falſity of that Report was made manifeſt.

Don John de Padilla's Letter to his LADY.

SENNORA.

IF your Pain did not more trouble me, than the loſing of my Life, I ſhould eſteem my ſelf entirely happy. For Death being a thing ſo certain to all Mortals, the Almighty ſheweth him a ſingular Favour whom he honoureth with ſuch a one as mine; which, tho lamented by many, is doubtleſs acceptable in his Sight. It would require more time than I have, to write ſeveral things which might be for your Conſolation. But as that cannot be allowed, ſo neither do I

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deſire to defer the Reception of that Crown which I hope to enjoy. You may, like a diſcreet Woman, bewail your own Misfortune, but not my Death; For being in ſo good a Cauſe, it ought not to be lamented by any; My Soul, ſince nothing elſe is left me, I bequeath to you, deſiring you to entertain it as a thing which moſt affected you. I do not write to Pedro Lopez, *my Father, becauſe I dare not. For tho I was his Son in daring to loſe my Life, I was not Heir to his good Fortune. I will not enlarge any farther, becauſe I will not trouble the Executioner to wait, nor give way for any one to ſuſpect, that to prolong my Life I enlarge my Letter: My Servant* Soſſa, *being an Eye-witneſs of my end, and one to whom I have communicated the Secrets of my Heart, ſhall tell you what cannot be expreſſed herein. So I reſt, expecting the Inſtrument of your Sorrow, and my Comfort.*

He writ a Letter at the ſame time to the City of *Toledo*, in which he tells her, *That ſhe muſt conſider that theſe are but the Turns of Fortune's Wheel, which never ſtandeth ſtill; That it was his Contentment and Conſolation that he ſuffered Death for her, and that ſhe nouriſhed at her Breaſt ſuch as may take Satisfaction for his Wrongs.*

And when he was upon the Scaffold, having taken off certain Relicks which he wore

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wore about his Neck, he gave them to *Don Enriche de Sandovall y Roias*, eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Denia*, praying him to wear them whilſt the War laſted, which being ended, he deſired him to ſend them to his Wife.

The News of this cheap, and compleat Victory, brought the Keys of *Valedolid*, and of all the other Aſſociated Cities and Towns, except *Toledo*, to the Governours; with humble Petitions for a General Pardon; and ſo ſtrangely intimidated were the Commons in all places by this ſingle Blow, that notwithſtanding the Army they had been diſperſed by, and all the other ſtanding Forces of the Kingdom march'd forthwith againſt the *French* (who having over-run *Navar* like a Torrent, were ready to enter *Caſtile*) and tho there did not want thoſe who did all that was poſſible in all Places to have perſwaded them to take up their Arms again, and not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity, to recover their loſt Credit, and dying Liberties; they were not to be moved any where to do it. So that never did any Cauſe which was eſpouſed by the whole Body of a People, and which had been allowed time to put it ſelf under ſome Government, fall ſo flat all at once as this of the Commons of *Caſtile*, no Place beſides *Toledo*, making the leaſt Effort to renew the

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War, after they had once heard of their Army's being dispersed.

And as to *Toledo*, it was kept from submitting by the Clergy, but chiefly by *Padilla*'s Widow; who, having the Populace at her Devotion, called on them incessantly not to lay down their Arms, until they had secured the Liberties they had taken upon them to defend, and until they had taken Vengeance too on those Butchers, meaning the Governours, who had cut the Throats of their best Patriots. And having sent a Courier to the *French* General, to sollicite him, *Now he had conquer'd* Navar, *to march into* Castile *with all possible Expedition, to give Life to the Commons again*, upon a Promise from that General, *That he would do so*, she sent Letters all over *Castile*, to exhort the Commons, *To take up their Arms which they had so dishonourably laid down*; telling them, *That if they did not make use of this favourable Juncture, they must, to their eternal Infamy, entail Slavery upon themselves and their Posterity, since they could never expect to have the like Opportunity again of preserving themselves a free People.*

There not being Strength enough left in *Castile* to reduce *Toledo* by Force, the Governours employ'd the Marquis of *Vilena*, who had a great Interest in the *Sylva's*, a numerous Family in that City, to try if he could

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could perſwade it to ſubmit; but that Negotiation taking Air, the *Sylva*'s were all turned out of the City; as was *Don John de Cardenas* alſo, upon Suſpicion of his being in a Correſpondence with the Governours. *Padilla*'s Widow was vehemently ſollicited too by her Brother, the Marqueſs *de Mondeiar*, either to perſwade *Toledo* to ſubmit, or to leave it, promiſing her a great Reward from the Governours, if ſhe would do either; but all the Anſwer he could have from her, was, *That as ſhe did not care to out-live the Liberties of her Country, ſo had ſhe a thouſand Lives, ſhe would loſe them all, rather than receive any Favour from thoſe Traytors to their Country, who had butcher'd the brave* Padilla, *for no other Reaſon, but for his having ſtood up for its Liberties.*

But whilſt this Hero of a Woman was thus labouring to have raiſed a new War, the News came of *William de Croy*, the young *Flemiſh* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* being dead in *Flanders*, and of *Don Antony de Fonſeca*, Archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*, who was a *Caſtilian*, being named by the King to ſucceed him. And whereas that young *Flemiſh* Archbiſhop had been all along the Clergy's chief Grievance, as ſoon as they knew of his being taken away, they did not only deſert *Padilla*'s Widow, but conſpir'd

ſpir'd with her Enemies to have turn'd her out of *Toledo*. And when they found that was not to be done, whilſt the People were ſo much at her Devotion, to ruin her Credit with them, the Clergy confidently gave out, *That ſhe was a Witch, and that the Negro Maid ſhe kept, was no Woman, but an Imp of Hell, that furniſhed her with Charms to faſcinate People into a Veneration for her.* And to ſatisfy all her Adorers, that they were bewitch'd by her, they affirm'd, *That by Virtue of ſome very ſtrong Exorciſms, they had forc'd the Devil to confeſs as much out of the Mouths of ſeveral of her chief Admirers.*

But ſo reſolute was this Lady, who had no other Charms but thoſe kind Nature had beſtow'd on her, that tho ſhe found her Credit ruin'd by this Report, with the Populace, who began now to look upon her as no other than a Devil; yet no Promiſes nor Threats were ſufficient to oblige her, either to leave *Toledo*, or to endeavour to perſwade that City to ſubmit it ſelf to the Governours. And when her Houſe was aſſaulted by the Biſhop of *Leon*, at the Head of a Multitude whom he had diſinchanted with Exorciſms, ſhe, with her own Servants, and ſome of the Ring-leaders of the firſt Tumults, defended it againſt him for ſome Hours. And when at laſt

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laſt ſhe found that there was no Remedy, but that ſhe muſt either capitulate (which that Biſhop offered ſeveral times to do) or muſt be made a Priſoner, ſhe ſtole out by Night out of the Back-Gate of her Houſe, in a Diſguize, with her Siſter, the Counteſs of *Montecute*; and eſcaping out of the City, ſhe fled to *Portugal*, where ſhe was kindly entertain'd by the noble Family of the *Pacheico*'s, which was her own Maiden Name, and to which ſhe was nearly related in Blood; neither did ſhe ever return to *Caſtile*, or make any Application to the Emperor, or to any of his Miniſters, for a Pardon.

The Day after *Padilla*'s Widow left *Toledo*, which was the 10*th* of *February*, in the Year 1522. that City ſent Deputies to the Governours, with its Submiſſion, and with a moſt humble Supplication to them for a General Pardon for themſelves, and for all others who had been any ways engaged in the late Troubles. And thus ended the War of the Commons of *Caſtile*, which began in the Month of *April*, in the Year 1520. Neither did the War of the Commons of *Valencia* laſt much longer; which having been all along carried on with much greater Fury and Devaſtations than that of *Caſtile*, ended in a great Slaughter of the Commons in a Field Battle.

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I have no where met with the Particulars of that War; and tho it was on Foot at the ſame time with this of *Caſtile*, I do not find that there was ever any Correſpondence or Communication of Councils betwixt the Commons of thoſe two Kingdoms, either before or after they took up Arms.

The *September* following the Emperor returned to *Spain*; where he was the more welcome for having loſt *Chevers*, who died in *Germany*, and, as it was ſaid, *of pure Paſſion, upon his Maſter's having enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance with the Pope againſt the* French, *without having made him privy to it.*

It was generally expected that the Emperor, to quiet the Minds of the *Caſtilians*, and to reconcile them to his Perſon and Government, would preſently after he came among them, have granted them a General Indemnity; but he was ſo far from doing that, that the firſt thing he order'd, was, *The beheading of the Biſhop of* Zamora, who, in order to make his Eſcape, is ſaid to have beat out the Brains of the Governour of the Caſtle, as he was in Diſcourſe with him by the Fire-ſide, with a Brickbat, which he put into the Bag wherein he uſed to carry his Breviary; *as alſo of* Don Peter Maldonada, *at* Simanchas;

and

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and of Don Pedro Pimental de Talavera, *at* Placentia; *and of ſeven of the principal Procurators of the* Junta, *at* Medina Campi. And when an Indemnity came to be granted, it was ſo clogg'd with Exceptions, that it gave but little Satisfaction to the *Caſtilians*, two hundred and ſeventy Perſons being excepted in it from Pardon, by Name; among whom were *Padilla*'s Widow, *Don Peter Giron*, *Don Peter de Laſſo*, the *Conde de Salvaterra*, and a great many of the *Cadets* of the beſt Families in *Caſtile*.

The Emperor having returned from *Germany* very poor, and much in Debt, aſſembled a *Cortes* at *Valedolid*. And tho the Procurators of that Aſſembly were all Courtiers, and moſt of them had been ill treated too by the Commons, when they were in Arms, yet they had both too much Senſe and too much Honeſty, to ſacrifice the Liberties of their Country, either to their own private Intereſts, or to their Reſentments; which, upon ſuch an Occaſion, a weaker and leſs ſteddy People than the *Caſtilians* are, would have been in Danger of doing. For at the opening of this *Cortes*, the following wiſe and honeſt Speech was made to the Emperor, by Dr. *John Rodrigo Piſa*, the *Prolocutor* of the Commons.

THE

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THE Prolocutor's SPEECH.

Most Sacred Emperor, and our Catholick King,

WE the Procurators of these Kingdoms do humbly supplicate your Majesty, to do the Kingdom we represent the Justice, as to believe that they do not yield in Loyalty and Fidelity to their Princes, to any of your other Dominions.

And as there is not one Procurator in this Cortes, *that is not either of your Majesty's Houshold, or in some Office or other of your giving, and that was not a Sufferer too for your Crown in the late Seditions; so they do all, with Hearts full of Loyalty, and with much Affection for your Royal Person and Government, beseech you to be informed by this your great Council, of the true State of the Affairs of* Castile, *with which the Senators, which are still about your Majesty may not be so thoroughly acquainted. And tho this* Cortes *cannot but lament the great Mischiefs of the late Seditions, yet I must take the liberty to tell your Majesty, That if you will but be pleased to consider what it was that gave Birth to those Seditions, you will not be able to wonder at them. For is it any wonder, that*

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that the demanding of a Tribute so imperiously as that at the Groin *was demanded; and that the having deny'd, at the Instigation of some who preferr'd their own private Interests to those of the Publick, to give Ear to the Commissioners which offer'd a sound Council, should beget great Disturbances; which would never have been, had the People, according to the ancient Custom, been heard, and had their Grievances redress'd? For had a* Cortes *been called to consult about the publick Good, and not only to give Money, which was the Case of that at the* Groin, *they would not only have given your Majesty the Money you desired, but a great deal more, if you had Occasion for it. But those things being past, I shall say no more of them, but will speak to what is present. Your Majesty was pleased in your Letters for our assembling, first to promise, To consult us about what will be for the Advantage of these Kingdoms; and after that to demand some Money of us for the Support of your Government; which Order, as being agreeable to the ancient Custom, was very welcome to all your Majesty's good Subjects; whose Grievances shall be first laid before your Majesty; and we do most humbly supplicate to have redressed. Neither ought it to be any Prejudice to this Course, that of late Years it has been the Custom for* Corteses, *first to give Money, and after that to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, so long as the other is both more ancient and more reasonable.* We

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We do therefore throw our selves at your Majesty's Feet, humbly supplicating that the Grievances of the Subjects may be first consider'd and redress'd, that so we may afterwards, with the more Freedom, do every thing that will any ways contribute to your Majesty's Grandeur and Happiness, which we shall always study to augment.

The Emperor, who was not at all pleased with this free Speech of the *Prolocutor's*, told the *Cortes* upon it, *That tho no Prince could be better dispos'd than he was, to make all his Subjects easy, yet he could not give way to the altering of a Custom introduc'd by so good Policy as that had been of a* Cortes *first dispatching what was demanded of them by the Crown. Because, if the giving of Money were postpon'd to the remedying of Grievances, the redressing of them would no longer be look'd on as an Act of Grace in the Prince, but would be reckon'd to have been purchased with Money, which otherwise would not have been given. Besides, should it be known at the Great* Turk's, *and some other Courts, that his Subjects had prescribed new Laws to him, his Figure and Authority would be much lessened by it.* He desired them therefore, *Not to lose time in needless Debates, but to go immediately upon the Supply which he had demanded of them, and after that was finished,* he promised, *That they should*

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ſhould have no Cauſe to complain of him, for having deny'd any thing that is reaſonable to the good People of Caſtile.

But the *Cortes*, notwithſtanding this Promiſe, being ſtill jealous, that if the Money were once given, they might be ſent home with their Grievances unredreſs'd, did, in a Body, humbly ſupplicate the King, That the Grievances of the Kingdom might be firſt taken into Conſideration, giving him all poſſible Aſſurances of ſupplying him with the Sum he had deſired, after they were all once remedy'd. But being told by the King, *That it was in vain for them to ſtruggle with him for a thing which he was reſolved never to grant*, they gave it over, and preſently voted the Sum that had been deſired, which was forty hundred thouſand Ducats, to be paid in three Years. After that, the following Bills having been agreed to by the whole *Cortes*, were preſented to the King, to have his Royal Aſſent to them.

I. *That no Beneſice or Office, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, ſhall be conferred on any Foreigner.*

II. *That the King's Guards ſhall all be* Caſtilians.

III. *That the Judges in the Country ſhall not be paid out of the Fines of Perſons that have been ſentenced by them.*

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IV. *That no Money shall be given or promised to any Person whatsoever, out of the Penalties of Delinquents, before they are convicted.*

V. *That no Money shall be given away, before it has been paid into the Exchequer.*

VI. *That no Monk, nor any other Ecclesiastical Person shall be capable of buying any Lands, now in the Possession of Laicks; and in Case any such Land should fall to them by Inheritance, they shall sell it to the Laity.*

VII. *That it shall not be lawful to sell any Grain standing in the Field.*

VIII. *That no Man shall be hinder'd from wearing a Sword.*

IX. *That no Masquerades shall be tolerated.*

The King is said to have given his Royal Assent to some of these Bills; but to which of them we are not told.

The Clergy, who three Years before had deny'd to pay the Tenths of their Benefices to the King, were now glad to compound with him for their Fourths; which were given to the King by Pope *Adrian*, their late Governour, who had been chosen Pope whilst he was in *Castile*.

But the *Italians*, when *Adrian* came among them, finding him too honest a Man to

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to make a good Pope, they diſpatch'd him quickly into the next World; neither have they ever ſince thought it ſafe, to truſt a *Tramontan*, or any other, that was not by Birth, Education and Conſcience, an *Italian*, with the Reins of the Papal Empire.

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VIEW

OF

Two Caſtilian CORTESES.

INTRODUCTION.

HAving in the foregoing Hiſtory, ſo often had occaſion to mention the Caſtilian Cortes, *I ſhould have been glad here to have gratify'd the Curious with a Hiſtory of the Origen, Progreſs, Authority, Cuſtoms,* &c. *of that Auguſt Aſſembly, of whoſe great Name the Modern* Spaniſh Cortes *is a Shadow only. But having never ſeen nor heard of any Book upon that Subject (which is very ſtrange, conſidering that no Nation in the World is ſo unmercifully*

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mercifully oppres'd, as Spain, *with Voluminous Histories of particular, and many times very little Persons and Places) instead of such a desirable History, I can only present the* Reader *with a short Account of Two of those Assemblies, neither of which is very Ancient; The First having met in the Year* 1390, *and the Second in the Year* 1406. *They were both called by* Don Henry II. *King of* Castile; *in whose Life, written in* Spanish *by* Gill Goncalez D. Avila, *Historiographer to King* Phil. IV. *I met with the following Accounts; which tho short and imperfect, yet are sufficient to satisfy any Person, of the Ancient* Spanish Cortes *having been the same with the* English Parliament, *and with the Assembly of the States in* France. *For the Northern Nations, which pull'd down the* Roman *Empire, had originally all the same Form of Government, which was a mixt Monarchy; and that as well after, as before their Crowns became Hereditary (which the* Gothick Spanish *Crown was not for some hundreds of Years after the* Goths *had settled themselves in* Spain) *the Authority of the Government in all those Nations was lodged so, in the King, and the Estates, that no Laws could be made, repealed, or suspended, nor no Money raised upon the Subject, but with their common Consent.*

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Which happy Constitution of Government, is now no where to be met with, where the Crown *is Hereditary, but only in* England *and* Scotland: *And may it for ever continue in them, to be an impregnable Bulwark against Anarchy and Tyranny, the two great Plagues of Mankind.*

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A VIEW OF A CORTES Assembled at *MADRID*, In the Year 1390.

THE People of *Caſtile* being extremely diſſatisfy'd with the Perſons named by King *John* I. in his Will to be their Governours during his Son King *Henry* the IId's Minority; the young King, by the Advice of his Council, did, on the 22*d* of *October*, in the Year 1390. call a *Cortes* to meet at *Madrid*, on the 15*th* of *November*, to ſettle the Regency, as they ſhould judge to be moſt convenient for his and his Kingdom's Honour and Safety.

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The Perſons named by the deceaſed King to be Governours, were *Don Alonſo*, Marqueſs *de Vilena*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, *Don Peter*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*; *Don John*, Archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*; *Don Peter Nunnes*, Maſter of *Calatrava*; *Don John Alphonſo*, *Conde* of *Niebla*; and *Don Peter Goncales*, Steward of the Houſhold.

The WRIT *ſent by the King to the City of* Abula.

Don Henry, by the Grace of God, King of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, *Toledo*, *Galicia*, *Sevil*, *Corduba*, *Murcia*, *Jaen*, *Algarve*, and *Algeziva*; and Lord of *Biſcay*, *Molina*, *Conceio*, &c.

To the City of *Abula*, Health and Grace, as to thoſe in whom we do much confide;

HAving in my former Letters acquainted you with the Death of the King, my Father and Lord, (whom may God pardon) This is to let you know, that by the Advice of the Perſons who were Counſellors to my Father, (whom may God admit into his holy Paradiſe) I have determined to call together all the Prelates, Maſters, Condes, and Ricoſhomes, and all the other Nobles, and all the Procurators of the Cities and Towns of theſe my Kingdoms and

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and Lordships, to treat about the Regency, and about whatsoever else shall be for my Service, and the Honour and Safety of my Kingdoms.

And having to that end summoned all the said Prelates, Dukes, Masters, Condes, Ricoshomes, and all the Procurators; you having a Right to sit and vote in a Cortes, *must, so soon as this my Writ comes to your Hands, choose from among your selves two good and sufficient Procurators, to act for God's and my Service, and for the common Good of the said Kingdoms; and with this we command you to comply so, that your Procurators may, without fail, meet me at* Madrid, *on the* 15*th of* November *next.*

Given at *Madrid*, the 22d of *October*, in the Year of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1390.

I, The KING.

I *Peter Alfonso* caused this to be written at the Command of our Lord the King.

NOTES

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NOTES *on this* WRIT.

[*MASTERS.*] Theſe were the Heads of the three Military Orders, of St. *James*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*; which three rich and powerful Maſterſhips are now lodged in the King, who ſets Preſidents over them, with the Title of Commendador Major.

[*CONDES.*] This was for many Ages the higheſt hereditary Title in *Spain*, until the preſent * King's Father and Grand-Father, to leſſen the great Power of the *Condes*, created Dukes and Marquiſes above them; and that the *Condes* might be the leſs ſenſible of their being Sufferers by this Change, the firſt Dukes and Marquiſes were all *Infante*'s, or *Princes of the Blood*, and ſo before they had thoſe new Titles, were ſuperior to the *Condes*.

[*RICOSHOMES.*] This was the common Title of the Barons of *Spain*. It is the Compound of a *Gothick* and *Latin* Word; whereas *Manrique*, the Name

* Viz. *The Father and Grand-Father of this King* Henry *the* IId. *who ſummon'd this* Cortes.

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of a noble *Spanish* Family, signifies the same, but is wholly *Gothick*. This Title is agreeable to the Description of *Nobility*'s being nothing else *but Riches long possessed in a Family*.

The *Ricoshomes* were of two sorts: The first and most honourable were those that were such by Prescription, and were reckon'd to be of the same Antiquity with the Monarchy, if not older; the *Castilians*, having at first been under the Government of a *Conde*, and afterwards under that of two Magistrates, who were call'd, *The Judges of* Castile. The second were those that were made *Ricoshomes* by a Patent from the King.

The Manner of creating a *Ricoshome*, was by the King's giving him Lands, with Royalties and Vassals; and the Ceremony used at their Creation was this: The King gave them a *Standard* and a *Caldron*, signifying by the *Standard*, that when there was Occasion, they might arm their Vassals, and oblige them to follow their Standard in the Field; and by the *Caldron*, that they were bound to maintain their Vassals, when they fought for them.

[*From among your selves.*] The Procurators of the Cities and Towns in a *Cortes* were

were anciently Members of their own Body; and lived in, or near the Place they repreſented. The Cities and Towns of *Caſtile* had always choſe all their own Magiſtrates, until they were depriv'd of that Privilege by this preſent King, who ſet a Magiſtrate over them, with the Title of *Corrigidor*. This great Innovation coſt much Blood in ſeveral Places; above a thouſand having been kill'd in *Sevil*, before that City could be brought to ſubmit to it: All which Blood was ſpilt to little Purpoſe, the Cities and Towns having in the next Reign recover'd their ancient Privilege, tho they have ſince loſt it, with all their other Liberties.

A LIST of the Procurators that were preſent at this CORTES.

For the City of *Burgos*.
PEter Fernandez de Villegas.
John de San Joan.
Garci Radz.
John Alonſo de Caſtro Duarco.
Martin Goncalez de Cencerra.
Sancho Garcia de Media.
Garci Perez de Camargo.
John Lopez de San Soles, 2.

For the City of *Toledo*.
Peter Lopez de Ayala.
Perafon de Ribera.
John Gaitan.
John Alphonſo de Zurita.
Martin Goncalez Traperos, 5.

For the City of *Leon*.
Pero Nunnes de Villafanna.

Fernand

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Fernand Alvarez de Leon.
Goncalo Fernandez.
John Ruiz.
Alonso Fernandez, 3.

For the City of Sevil.
Fernan Goncalez.
Diego Fernandez.
Garci Perez de Morales, 3.

For Corduba.
Lope Guitierrez.
Peter Vanegas.
Alfonso Yannez, 3.

For Murcia.
John Sanchez de Ayala.
Sancho Rodriguez, 2.

For Jaen.
John Pelais.
Fernan Arias.
Peter Sanchez, 3.

For Abula.
Alfonso Goncalez.
Sancho Sanchez, 2.

For Salamanca.
Rui Goncalez.
John Sanchez.
Rui Fernandez.
Rodrigo Yannez.
El Dr. Antony Sanchez.
Alfonso Godinez.
Andrew Dominguez.
Julian Gomez, 8.

For Zamora.
Fernan Rodriguez Esparegas.
Ordonno Ruiz.
Perivan de la Rua.
Gomez de Torrez, 4.

For Segovia.
Garci Alfonso de Uvacana.
Fernan Sanchez de Virres, 2.

For Soria.
Garci Alvarez de vera.
Fernan Sanchez.
John de Morales.
Fernan Sanchez de Talavera, 4.

For Valedolid.
John Manso.
Goncalo Nunnes.
Goncalo Gomez.
Rui Sanchez, 4.

For Placentia.
Garci Goncales Marifcal.
Diego Gomez de Almarez, 2.

For Baeza.
Fernan Ruiz Narvar.
Lewis Goncalez.
John Garcia, 3.

For

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For *Ubeda.*
Michael Ruiz.
Gil Sanchez, 2.

For *Toro.*
Diego Garcia.
John Nunnes.
Fernand Gomez.
Alfonso Ruiz, 4.

For *Calaherra.*
Diego Ximenes Arnedo.
Goncalez Falcon, 2.

For *Oviedo.*
John Estrevanes, 1.

For *Xerez.*
Lucas Fernandes de Locano.
Peter Garcia de Miseria, 2.

For *Alborga.*
Diego Alvarez, 1.

For *Rodrigo.*
Sancho Comez de Ferreria, 1.

For *Badajox.*
Goncalo Sanchez, 1.

For *Coria.*
Rodrigo de San Millan.
John Alphonso Pany Agua, 2.

For *Guadalaxara.*
John Ortega.
Gorci Lopez, 2.

For *Coruna.*
Gonçalo Annes Ferreiro, 1.

For *Medina del Campo.*
Goncalo Ruiz.
John de San Pedro, 2.

For *Cuenca.*
Numo Goncalez de Torre.
John Rodriguez de Navaltan.
John Sanchez, 3.

For *Carmona.*
John Martinez de Lea.
Goncalez Martinez, 2.

For *Ecija.*
Alfonso Terriandez.
Peter Diaz, 2.

For *Vitoria.*
Peter Goncalez.
Peter Garcia, the Son of *Michael Garcia*, 2.

For *Logrouno.*
Goncalo Garcia, 1.

For *Fruxillo.*
Fernan Alfonso.
Rui Gutierres, 2.

For

For *Carceres.*
Lorenzo Tamnes.
Garcia Martinez, 2.

For *Cadix.*
Sancho Garcia.
Fernan Goncalez, 2.

For *Xeriz.*
Gonçala Ruiz.
Alonso Sanchez.
John Fernandez de Sandoval.
John Garcia, 4.

For *Bejar.*
Gill Fernandez.
Diego Sanchez, 3.

For *Villa Real.*
Bartholomew Martinez.
Goncalo Gomez.
Alfonso Sanchez, 3.

For *Cuellar.*
Velasco Perez.
Diego Garcia.
Alfonso Garcia, 3.

For *Tariff.*
John Ramires de Allenmar, 1.

For *Huete.*
Peter Fernandez Barajas.
Alfonso Rodriguez, 2.

For *Andujar.*
Alfonso Goncales de Priego.
John Sanchez 2.

For *Atienca.*
Peter Alvares.
Goncalo Sanchez.
Alvar Nunnez, 3.

For *Madrid.*
John Sondeval.
John Garcia, 2.

For *Alcaraz.*
Alonso Lope.
Rui Goncalez, 2.

For St. *Sebastian.*
Pelegrin Gomez.
John de Heneras, 2.

For *Sahagun.*
Garcia Alfonso.
Fernan Goncalez, 2.

For *Fuente Rubia.*
Stephen de Aluda, 1.

These

These are the Procurators that were present in this *Cortes*; but whether they be all that belong to that Assembly, I cannot say, having never seen any other List of them but this.

The *Cortes* being met at *Madrid*, on the Day appointed, it was opened with a Speech made by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who exhorted them to settle the Regency so, that the Kingdoms might not suffer under this, as they had done under some former Minorities.

But tho the *Cortes* began with the Regency, they would not settle it, nor do no other Business, until the Coin of the Kingdoms, which had been rais'd by the King's Grand-father, to the great Damage of the Subjects (as it always is when so rais'd) was brought down to its ancient Standard and Value, which having been done by a Law, on *January* the 21st; on the last Day of the same Month, the whole *Cortes* assembled in the Church of St. *Salvador*, and did by a solemn Act declare, *That the Regency, during the King's Minority, should be in a Council, which they had nam'd; and that the King at sixteen Years should be of Age*; obliging all the Persons nam'd by them to be of that Council, before they acted, to take an Oath to observe the following Ordinances.

I.

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I. *Not to encrease the standing Forces of the Kingdoms above four thousand Soldiers in Garrisons, and fifteen hundred Ginets.*

II. *That they shall not begin any War without the Consent of the* Cortes.

III. *That they shall not raise any Money upon the Subject, that has not been given by a* Cortes.

IV. *That they shall not banish nor put any to Death, before they have been try'd and condemn'd by their proper Judges.*

V. *That they shall not pardon Murder.*

VI. *That they shall preserve all the present Alliances, and enter into no new ones, without the Consent of the* Cortes.

The Persons named and appointed by the *Cortes* to be of this Council, were, *Don Fadrique*, Duke of *Bonaventum*, *Don Pedro*, Conde *de Trastamara*, *Don Peter*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Don John*, Archbishop of *Santiago*, *Don Gonçalo Nunnes*, Master of *Calatrava*, *Peter Lopez d' Ayala*, Alchald of the City of *Toledo*, *Alvar Perez Ossorio*, *Ruy Ponce de Leon*, *Peter Suarez*, Aldelantadi of *Leon* and *Asturias*, *Garci Goncales*, Marisçal.

For the Kingdom of *Castile*, *Garci Ruiz*, *Sancho Garcia de Medina*, and *Ruy Sanchez*.

For the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Perafan de Ribera*, and *John Gaiton*.

For the Kingdom of *Leon*, *Alfonso Fernandez*, and *Rodrigo de Esparriegos*, and *John Alvarez Maldonada*.

For the Kingdom of *Andaluſia*, *Fernan Goncales*, and *Lope Rodriquez*.

For the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Jaen*, *John Sanchez de Ayala*, and *John Pelais de Burcio*.

For *Eſtramadura*, *Fernan Sanchez de Vervis*, and *Alfonso Goncalez*.

This Council conſiſted of ten Nobles, and fourteen Commoners, who were Procurators in this *Cortes*. And to make this Charge the eaſier, one half of each were ordered, until the King was of Age, to attend on him one ſix Months in the Year; and the other half, the other ſix Months.

The Regency being thus ſettled, the King came to the *Cortes*; and having thank'd them for their Care and good Affection, he took the following Oath.

I do

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I Do Promise and Swear to maintain, and to cause to be maintained, to all the Nobles, Prelates, Churches, and Masters of the Orders; and to all Cities, Towns and Villages, all the same Privileges, Grants, Franchises, Exemptions, good Usages and Customs, which they enjoy'd in the Reigns of the King my Grand-father, and of the King my Father, and in the same Manner.

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A VIEW OF A CORTES

Assembled by the same King at *TOLEDO*, in the Year 1406.

KIng *Henry* II. intending to have a War with the *Mooriſh* King of *Granada*; who, he ſaid, had broke the Truce that was made betwixt them, in ſeveral Particulars, would not begin it until he had adviſed about it with a *Cortes*. And having to that end call'd one to meet at *Toledo*; on the 29*th* of *November*, in the Year 1406; it was open'd when it met, by the following Speech, made by the Infante, *Don Fernando*, the King's Brother; the King, tho then at *Toledo*, being ſo much indiſpos'd, that he was not able to be preſent at it in Perſon.

YOU,

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YOU, the Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, need not be told that my Lord the King is hindred by Sickness from coming to you in Person, as he intended; He has therefore commanded me to acquaint you with the Reason of his having called you together at this time, which is to let you know, That upon the King of Granada's *having broke the Truce, by denying to restore the Castle of* Ayamonte, *and to pay the Tribute that is due, he intends to begin a War upon that* Barbarian. *You are therefore desired to take this Matter into your Consideration; and if you shall judge this War to be just, and for God's, his Majesty's, and his Kingdom's Honour and Service, to consult what Provisions and Forces will be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, and to supply his Majesty with Money sufficient to defray all its Charges.*

To this Speech of the Infante's, the following Answer was return'd, in the Name of the whole *Cortes*, by the Bishop of *Siguenca*.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, here assembled, having heard what your Highness has acquainted them with in the King's Name,

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with very great Satisfaction, do all supplicate your Highness, as you are Lord of Lara, *and the Judge of all the Nobles, to let them, according to ancient Custom, first have your Opinion of this War, that having your Judgment of its Justice and Conveniency, they may consult together about what has been by you proposed to them in our Lord the King's Name, and may do whatsoever shall be judged to be most convenient.*

Upon which Address of the whole *Cortes*, the Infante, as Lord of *Lara*, declared, That he judged the War he had proposed to them to be so just, and so much for God's and his Majesty's Service, that he was ready to serve in it with his whole Force and Estate, and to be the foremost in all Toils and Dangers.

After this Declaration of the Infante's, the War was, after a short Consultation, voted to be both just and holy, by the whole *Cortes*, which also promised to assist the King in it, to the utmost of their Power.

But tho the *Cortes* was unanimous in voting the War, yet when they came to consider how great an Army and Fleet would be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, they were so divided, that the King, lest more time should be lost, sent a Paper to them by Dr. *John Rodriquez*, one of the Procurators

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curators of *Salamanca*, wherein was a List of the Forces and Provisions his Majesty judged to be necessary; Which were, ten thousand Lances, four thousand Ginets, and fifty thousand Foot, for the Land Army; and a Fleet of thirty armed Gallies, and fifty Ships of War to guard the *Streights*, and six heavy Canon, a hundred Shot of Powder, two Engines, twelve battering Rams of Iron, a great Number of Spades, twelve Pair of Bellows, and six thousand Waggons.

The *Cortes* having very minutely computed the whole Charge of maintaining such a Fleet and Army for six Months, and of all the other Provisions in the King's Paper, found it would amount to an hundred Millions, and two hundred thousand *Maravedies*; which being judged by them to be a Sum much too great for the Subject to pay, they ordered, That one third should be raised upon the Subject, and that the other third should be taken out of the great Treasure that was in *Oviedo*, and the last third out of the yearly Revenues of the Crown. And a Bill being pass'd accordingly, and presented to the Throne,— the Infante told them, that the King expected to have the whole Charge of the Forces and Provisions contain'd in the Paper he had caused to be laid before them, supply'd

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by the Subject; all that the King could spare out of his own Treasury and yearly Revenues, being to be employed in the hiring and paying of the foreign Troops, over and above those mention'd in that Paper, which the King intended to make use of.

But the *Cortes* adhering stiffly to their Bill, which, they said, laid more on the Subjects than they were well able to bear, the King at last passed it; but at the same time desired, that in Case the Sum which they had given, should be found not to be sufficient, they would impower him, without assembling a *Cortes*, which would require time, to raise Money upon the Subject, to supply that Deficiency. And tho the giving the King such a Power was fiercely opposed by a great many of the Procurators, as a thing that struck at the very Root of the Authority of a *Cortes*, it was carry'd by a Majority. And tho it was granted only for that Year, yet that was enough to create such a President, as would encourage their future Kings to desire to have the same Power, and to take it very ill if 'twere deny'd them. And by such weak or corrupt Concessions as these it was that the *Spanish Cortes* came to lose all their Authority.

The King (who by having taken from the Cities and great Towns the Power of chooſing their own Magistrates, and by several

veral other Oppreſſions, had render'd himſelf very odious) happening to die before the Members of the *Cortes* had left *Toledo*, they caball'd together to lay aſide his Son, who was but a Child, and to beſtow the Crown on his Brother the Infante, *Don Ferdinand*, who had always been very popular. But the Infante, when the Crown was offered him in the Name of moſt of the Nobles, and of all the Commons, by *Ruy Lopez de Avila*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, (who was alſo one of the young King's Governours) generouſly refuſed to accept of it, telling the Conſtable, and the Nobles that were with him, *That neither Covetouſneſs nor Ambition were ſtrong enough in his Breaſt, to make him do ſo barbarous and inhumane a thing, as to rob an Orphan, who was alſo his Nephew, of his Crown.* But the Conſtable, who would not be put off with this Anſwer, endeavour'd to perſwade the Infante, by the following Speech, to change his Mind.

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THE Constable's SPEECH.

SIR,

HAving humbly supplicated you to accept of the Crown of your Father and Grandfather; and withal assured you, that this is so earnestly desired, not only by the Nobles, but by the Body of the People, that you need not fear meeting with any Opposition in it: We, who scorn either to dissemble or flatter, must now tell you farther, That as it is a dishonourable thing to obtain a Crown by vile and base Methods; so to refuse a Crown, when finding it self in Danger, it begs your Protection, looks like Weakness and Cowardice.

Do not the Nature and Origin of all Royal Powers sufficiently teach us, that Crowns, when Reason of State requires it, may lawfully be taken from one, and given to another?

For in the Beginning of the World Men lived scatter'd in the Fields as wild Beasts do now, neither was there any such thing among them as Societies or Communities; only in particular Families, some Respect was paid to those among them, who were in Age and Prudence superiour to the rest; but the Dangers People found themselves exposed to, of being oppress

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by others that were stronger, and the frequent Quarrels which happened among themselves, and with Strangers, were the things that induced them to form themselves into Societies; and to choose one for their Head, who was by his known Valour and Prudence, able to protect and defend them against all others.

This was the Beginning of Societies, and the Origin of all Royal Authority, which in those ancient times was not procur'd by Negotiations and Subornations, but by Temperance, Fortitude, and Integrity. Neither did Royal Authority, in those Days, descend by Inheritance from Father to Son, but it was still given by the Consent of the People; who, when their Prince dy'd, chose one from among themselves to succeed him. For it was nothing but the exorbitant Power of Princes that first made Crowns hereditary, so that they must descend to their Children, tho never so unfit for them. And can any thing be more dangerous, than to have the Arms, the Treasures, and Government of a People committed to one blindfold, and for no other Reason, but because he was the Son of the deceased Prince; by which Means, that which was due to Vertue and Merit only, comes to fall into the Hands of one, that has never given the Publick any Assurance of his being fit to govern them. I shall not make use of remote Examples, to confirm the Truth of this to you.

Upon

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Upon the Death of King Henry I. *was not his elder Sister,* Donna Blanca, *who was married into* France, *laid aside, and his younger Sister,* Donna Berenguela, *declar'd Queen? The Wisdom of which Action was made illustrious, by the Sanctity and perpetual Felicity of her Son,* Don Ferdinand. *Was not the younger Son of* Don Alonso *the Wise, for the Proofs he had given of his Valour and good Conduct, preferred likewise to the Sons of his elder Brother,* Don Ferdinand? *But we need go no farther back than your Highness's own Grand-Father, King* Henry, *who depriv'd his Brother and his Daughters of the Crown; to which, had not this Action of your Grand-Father's been lawful, our deceased King could have had no Title. And in* Portugal, *did not the Master of* Aviz *seize on the Crown in the same manner? Whether he did it lawfully or not, is none of our Business to enquire; but certain it is, he has kept it on his Head, against all the Power of* Castile. *And in* Arragon, *was not the Crown but the other Day taken from the Daughter of King* John, *and given to her Uncle,* Don Martin, *tho he was then in* Sicily? *In a Word, Has it not been always held just, for the Communities or People, when Necessity required it, to alter any Constitution, tho at first established for the Publick Good?*

Had

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Had we pitch'd on a Stranger, or on one not royally descended, we might then have been blamed for doing such a thing; but who can reckon that we, in our present Circumstances, do amiss, in desiring to have a Prince of the Royal Family for our King, being one, of whose good Government we are so well assured?

Consider therefore how dishonourable a thing it will be for you to slight the universal Affection of this Nation, and to avoid the Trouble and Burden of a Crown, by denying your Country your Protection, at a time when it has so many Difficulties to struggle withal, tho it begs it of you with bended Knees. Grant us therefore but this Request, and we will not, because it is needless, charge you to govern us with your customary Prudence and Temper.

This Speech, tho it had its Policy backed with several ancient Prophecies, and very fresh Visions of the Infante's being King of *Castile*, could not move him to accept of that Dignity. But he dismiss'd the Constable, and the rest of the Nobles, with telling them, *That tho he could not but thank them for their good Will, he was not able, in this Matter, to do them any Service, but only to promise, not to acquaint his Lord the King, nor the Queen Mother, with any such Proposition having ever been made to him.*

And

And it was not long before this ſingular Virtue of the Infante's was rewarded; for within ſix Years after, he was choſen King of *Arragon*, and in leſs than an hundred Years, the Crown of *Caſtile* came by Marriage to his Grand-ſon *Ferdinand*, and is to this Day on the Head of his Poſterity.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE *Manuscripts* and *Relicks*

Found in the Ruins of the Uninhabitable *Turpian Tower*, in the City of *Granada*, in the Year 1588. And in the Mountain called *Valparayso*, near to that City, in the Year 1595.

Parturient Montes, nascetur ridiculus Mus.

DON *Peter de Castro, y Quinnones*, Archbishop of *Granada*, having in the Year 1588. ordered an old Tower, which was some Nuisance to his Cathedral, to be taken down; the Workmen, in digging amongst its Ruins, lighted

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lighted on a Leaden Box; and having opened it, instead of the Treasure of *Barbary* Gold they expected, they found in it a large Sheet of Parchment written on both Sides, after a very uncouth Fashion, and in it a Piece of Linnen Cloth, about the Bigness of half a Pocket-Hankerchief, and a small Bone.

The Workmen, not knowing what to make of such a conjuring Sortment, for such it must have appear'd to them, lodg'd it all in its Box again; and having carried it to their Master, the Archbishop, he not skilling such things himself, or at least pretending that he did not, summon'd all the Criticks and Antiquaries that City and Country afforded, to try their Skill upon it.

The Letters in the Manuscripts were alternatively black, and coloured, and the Words were all in Chequers, and so legible, that it was plain at first sight, that in one part of the Writing, the Words were all *Arabick*, and in another part all barbarous and ill spelt *Latin*; and in the third and greatest part, the Words were all *Spanish*, and the very same that is now spoken: A doughty Evidence of these Manuscripts fifteen hundred Years Antiquity.

But

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But notwithſtanding the Criticks underſtood the Signification of every Word in this venerable Manuſcript, they could make no Senſe of them as they lay, nor perhaps never would, had not its Author, who had been at ſo much dull Pains to make it myſterious, been ſo kind as to leave a Key in the Margin, to let the Age into it that ſhould be ſo happy as to find it; which was done by ſtill skipping over the next Word from the Top to the Bottom, and ſo back again. And tho by thus hobling it over, the Criticks could make no very good Senſe of it, yet they found its Author's Meaning as well as they could have done, had he placed his Words in their common Order.

At the Top of the Parchment there were five ſmall Croſſes within one large Croſs.

The firſt thing in the Writing was a Title in *Arabick*, declaring, that therein was contained, *A Prophecy of St.* John the Evangeliſt, *concerning the End of the World.*

The next thing was a Narrative, declaring how St. *Cecilius* came by that Prophecy, and the Linnen Cloth, and the Book that were in it.

The third thing was a Commentary of St. *Cecilius* upon that Prophecy.

And the laſt was a Relation of one Father *Patrick*, by whom this Treaſure was hid in the Apoſtles Days.

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The PROPHECY of St. *John the Evangeliſt*, concerning the Conſummation of the World, in the ſame Words as it is in the Parchment.

LA edad dada lux, ya commencada por el Maeſtro, y con ſu paſſion redimida con dolor del cuerpo: y los prophetas paſſados, que alumbrados de la tercera perſona eſperaran ſu venida.

Del mundo el acabamiento quiero contar, por boca deſte Maeſtro, en la miſericordia preferido. Alos ſeys ſiglos complidos de ſu advenimiento por peccados grandes el en mundo, q' comenzados ſeran tinieblas, ſe levantaran muy eſcuras, en las orientales partes y a los occidentales ſe oſtenderan por miniſtros furioſſos, q' en ellas ſeran criados: com q' la lux de nueſtro ſol ſe eclipſara; y el templo del Maeſtro, y ſu fe, graues perſecutiones padeceran: y los quinze ſiglos cumplidos por los pertinaces coraçones endurecidos, ſegundas tinieblas ſe levantaran en las partes de aquilon y d ellas un dragon ſoldra, que por ſu boca, arroiara ſimiente; que ſembrada la fee dividira en ſetas y con la otra inuitada el mundo occuparan, de las occidentales par-

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ses saldran los tres enemigas, su malicia aumentando por su Maestro la sensualidad traeran y con ella nunca vista el mundo, se nilicionara la luz, en parte diminuta de la tierra se retiraras adonde con naufragios sustentada seran en el abrigo de la coluna de piedra, con estas senales prodigiosas, y otras que el Cielo mostrara el genero humano sera amenazado y en especial el sacerdocio, y anunciado el Antichristo, que sera breve se vendra con que esta propheeia se cumplira, y el siglo final se acercara, quando se manifestara el mundo, esta verdad, verdad, verdad, cumplida, del medio dia saldra el mes de la verdad, quando le placera.

This Prophecy *render'd into* English.

THE Age of the Light now begun by the Master, and with his Passion redeemed with the Pain of his Body: And the past Prophets, who being enlightned by the Third Person, waited for his Coming, I having been preferred in Mercy, will by the Mouth of this Master give an Account of the End of the World. Six Ages being accomplished from his Coming, on account of the grievous Sins of the World, which being committed, will be Darkness, and very great Darkness will arise in the *Eastern* Parts, which will extend it self to the *West* by the furious Ministers that are bred therein;

with which the Light of the Sun will be eclipſed, and the Temple of the Maſter and his Faith will ſuffer grievous Perſecution.

And fifteen Ages being accompliſhed thorough obſtinate and obdurate Hearts, a ſecond Darkneſs will ariſe in the *Northern* Parts; out of which will come forth a Dragon, who will throw Seed out of his Mouth, which being ſown, will divide the Faith into Sects, which being joined with the other, will ſpread it ſelf over the World. From the Weſtern Parts three Enemies will come forth, who having Senſuality for their Maſter, and encreaſing in their Malice, will infect the World with ſuch a Leproſy as was never ſeen before; and the Light being much diminiſhed, will retire, but will in its Ship-wrecks be ſupported, by being under the Protection *of the Pillar of its Stone.*

With theſe prodigious Signs, and others which Heaven will ſhew, Mankind will be threatned, and particularly the Prieſthood; and Antichriſt, whoſe Coming is at Hand, being manifeſted, this Prophecy will be accompliſhed, and the final Judgment will draw near: And when this Truth, Truth, Truth ſhall be manifeſted to the World, and accompliſhed, the Judge of the Truth ſhall, when he pleaſeth, come from the *South.*

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The NARRATIVE.

ST. Cecilius, *to partake of the Merits which are purchased by the visiting of holy Places, sauntered to* Jerusalem; *and as he was returning home, having taken* Athens *in his way, he professed* Theology *there, according to the* Greek *Method; but having been so unhappy as to lose his Sight in the Voyage, he continued stone blind, until he had visited* Dionysius *the* Areopagite, *who was at that time Bishop of* Athens; *who having confessed St.* Cecilius, *and given him the Body of* Christ, *rubbed his Eyes as soon as Mass was said, with the Handkerchief wherewith the Blessed Virgin had wiped off the Tears mingled with Blood, which were shed by her, when she was present at her Son's Passion.*

Dionysius *having helped St.* Cecilius *thus to Eyes, shewed him a Prophecy written in* Hebrew *by St.* John the Evangelist, *which had been render'd by him into* Greek, *concerning* the Consummation of the World, *and a* Bone *of the first Martyr St.* Stephen. *St.* Cecilius *having by strong Importunity obtained a Copy of this Prophecy, translated it into* Spanish, *and writ a Commentary upon it in* Arabick, *which was his Mother Tongue: He obtained likewise one half of the* Handkerchief

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which had cured him of his Blindneſs; and the Bone of the firſt Martyr St. Stephen; *all which Relicks he laid together to be preſerved until God for the Inſtruction of Princes ſhould be pleaſed to diſcover them to the World.*

The next thing is St. *Cecilius*'s Commentary in *Arabick*, which the Inventors have not thought fit to publiſh, in that, or in any other Language; and all they tell us out of it, is, That by an Age is meant an hundred Years; ſo that the Falſe Prophet was not to riſe in the *Eaſt* till after ſix hundred Years; nor the Diabolical Dragon to appear in the *North* till fifteen hundred Years after Chriſt's Birth. But they ſay nothing of the three Enemies in the *Weſt*, nor of the *Pillar of its Stone*; which are the two things in the Prophecy, that wanted a Commentary moſt. But as it is plain, that by the Falſe Prophet in the *Eaſt*, *Mahomet* is meant; and by the *Dragon* in the *North*, Dr. *Luther*; ſo I do much ſuſpect, that Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Conſtantino*, and Dr. *Cazala*, who were all burnt in *Spain* for being Proteſtants, in the beginning of the Reign of *Philip* the IId.; are the Perſons meant by three Enemies in the *Weſt*: And as for the *Pillar of Stone*, though St. *Cecilius* ſaith nothing of it in his Commentary, Dr. *Madera*, the Publiſher and Champion of theſe

An-

Antiquities, saith, That *Spain* is meant by it, and that upon no less Authority, than that of the Prophet *Esaias*; who speaking of the *Spaniards* in the 24*th* Chapter of his Prophecy, calls them, *Habitatores Petræ*.

St. *Cecilius* closeth his Commentary with the first seven *Verses* of St. *John*'s Gospel, in *Arabick*, as they are sung in the *Roman Church*, and with this Subscription;

Cecilius *Bishop of* Granada.

The last thing in this Immortal Vellum, is a Relation in *Latin*, not very classical, tho written in *Nero*'s Days, by one Father *Patrick* a Priest.

Father *Patrick*'s RELATION.

Relatio Patricii Sacerdotis, servus Dei. Cecilius Episcopus Granatensis, cum in Iberia esset, & cum videret dierum suorum finem, occulte mihi dixit, se habere pro certo suum martyrium & apropinquare, & utpote qui ille qui in deo amavit, thesaurum suarum reliquiarum mihi commendavit, & me admonuit, ut occulte haberem, & in loco locarem, & ut in

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potentiam Maurorum nunquam veniret, affirmans esse thesaurum salutis atq; scientiæ certæ & plurimum laborasse, & iter fecisse terra mariq; & debere esse in occulto loco, donec Deus velit illum manifestare, & ego melius quum intellexi, in eo loco clausi ubi jacet, deum rogans ut eum observet. Reliquiæ quæ hic jacent sunt profeciæ divi Joannis Evangelistæ, medius pannus quo Virgo Maria *absterſit ab oculis lacrymas in passione ſui filii ſacrati.*

Os divi Stevani primi martyris

Deo gratias.

This Relation turned into Engliſh.

" THE Relation of *Patrick* a Prieſt, " the Servant of God.

" *Cecilius* Biſhop of *Granada*, being in " *Iberia*, and ſeeing the end of his Days " approaching, told me in private, That he " knew for certain, that he ſhould ſpeedi- " ly ſuffer Martyrdom; and whereas he " loved me in God, he recommended " to me the Treaſure of his Relicks, " and charged me to keep it ſecret, and " to lodge it in a ſecret Place, that it " might never fall into the hands of the " *Moors*; affirming it to be a Treaſure of " Health

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"Health and certain Knowledge, and that
"he had been at great Pains, and travelled
"both by Sea and Land, and that it ought
"to be kept in a secret Place, until God
"should be pleased to bring it to light. I to
"the best of my Knowledge hid it in this
"Place, beseeching God to keep it. The Re-
"licks which lie here are, *The Prophecies*
"*of* St. *John* the Evangelist, *concerning the*
"*End of the World*; half of the Cloth
"wherewith the Virgin *Mary* wiped the
"Tears from her Eyes, shed by her at the
"Passion of her Holy Son; and a Bone of
"St. *Stephen* the first Martyr. Thanks be
"to God.

Thus far Father *Patrick*, a proper Name enough for the Relator of such a blind Story, and in truth for the Contriver of this whole Farce, which has not so many Sentences as it has Blunders in it, with clear Evidences of its being suppositious.

But as blind as it is, the discovery of the *Indies* was not entertained in *Spain* with greater joy than this Discovery was; but chiefly in the City and Kingdom of *Granada*; which having been recovered out of the hands of the *Moors* long after all the other *Spanish* Provinces, had but a poor stock of Relicks; the Treasures which above all others, the *Spanish* Cities and Towns do value

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lue themſelves upon: A famous Miracle-working Relick being of more advantage to any place that has it, than twenty Fairs.

The *Galicians*, whoſe *true Legend* of St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, ſtood in great need of ſome ancient Evidence, rejoiced extremely as its having received ſo Authentick a Confirmation.

One good Effect however, tho it was not miraculous, this Diſcovery had; which was, that it furniſhed the *Spaniards* with ſomething elſe to think and talk of, beſides the loſs of their great Armado, which happened the ſame Year.

This Invention having ſucceeded ſo well, gave Encouragement to new Adventures; and a Report having been ſpread abroad, *That a prodigious Treaſure of Gold and Jewels had been hid by the* Moors *in a Mountain called* Valparaſo, about half a Mile from the City of *Granada*; the People, after having received the beſt Directions, which were to be had from cunning Men, went to work in ſome of its Caverns, which it was very full of; where they had not dug long, before they met with a *Plate of Lead*, with the following Inſcription upon it:

Corpus uſtum Divi Meſitonis Martiris, puſus eſt, ſub Neronis Imperatoris potentatu.

The burnt Body of St. *Meſiton*, who ſuffered in the Reign of the Emperor *Nero*.

This

This Relick being carried to the Archbishop, he was so transported with Joy, that he resolved to spare for no Cost, nor Pains, to find the Ashes of this burnt Martyr; and having set all hands to work, the teeming Mountain was on the 28*th* of *March*, 1595, delivered of a second *Plate*, with the following Inscription upon it.

Anno secundo Neronis *Imperii*, Marci *Calendis passus fuit Martirium in hoc loco illuxtriano electus ad hunc effectum Sanctus* Hiscius *Apostoli* Jacobi *decipus cum suis Discipulis* Turillo, Panuncio, Marenio, Centullio, *per medium ignem in quo vivi ambusti fuerunt aternam vitam petentibus transiere, ut lapides in calcem converss fuerint; quorum pulveres in hujus sacri montis cavernis jacent, qui ut ratio postulat in eorum memoriam veneretur.*

"In the second Year of *Nero*'s Empire, "on the Kalends of *March*, St. *Hiscius* a "Disciple of the Apostle St. *James*, elected "of God for this purpose, suffered Mar"tyrdom in this place of *Illuxtria*, with "his Disciples *Turillus*, *Panuncius*, *Mare*"*nus*, and *Centullius*; passing thorough the "midst of the Fire wherein they were "burnt alive, to Life eternal, and being "burnt as Stones are to Lime. Their Dust "is lodged in the Caverns of this holy "Moun-

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" Mountain; which, as Reaſon requires, " ought to be had in Veneration in Memo- " ry of them.

On the 10*th* of *April* of the ſame Year, the Workmen, as they were digging after this great Vein of Aſhes, did light on a third Plate of the ſame Metal, with the following Inſcription upon it.

Anno ſecundo Neronis *Imperii Kalendis* Aprilis *paſus eſt Martirium in hoc loco illupi-litо,* Theſiphon *dictus priuſquam converteretur* Abenathar, *divi* Jacobi *Apoſtoli diſcipulus, vir literis & ſanctitate præditus, plumbi tabulis exſcripſit librum illum,* Fundamentum Eccleſiæ *appellatum, & ſimul paſi ſunt ſui diſcipuli, divus* Maximinus, Luparius, *quorum pulvis & liber ſunt cum pulveribus divorum Martyrum in hujus ſacri mont. cavernis in eorum memoriam veneretur.*

" In the ſecond Year of *Nero*'s Empire, on " the Firſt of *April*, St. *Theſiphon* (who be- " fore he was converted was named *Abena-* " *ther*) ſuffered Martyrdom in this Place of " *Illupulis*. He was a Diſciple of the Apoſtle " St. *James*, and was endowed with Learning " and Sanctity. He tranſcribed into Tables " of Lead, the Book called, *The Foundation* " *of the Church*; and with him ſuffered " *Maximinus* and *Luparius*. His Duſt and " Book,

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"Book, with the Dust of divers Martyrs, are "in the Caverns of this holy Mountain, "and let them be reverenced in Memory "of them.

After so many Notices of so great a Treasure of Martyr's Ashes, the Workmen at last came to a large Cavern, which looked like a Prison or Dungeon, wherein they met with a great many Bones, and with Lumps of Earth of a whitish Colour, which were judg'd to be the Ashes of the Martyrs; who, in one of the Plates, were said to have been burnt like Stones into Lime. This Dungeon supply'd the Church of *Granada*, which before had few or no Relicks, with more ancient sacred Bones and Ashes, than all the Churches in *Spain* had besides. But as Covetousness has no Bounds, they went on still with their Work, and on the 21st of *April* they met with a leaden Box, wherein was a Book with this Title—— *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiæ Salomonis characteribus scriptus*; A Book of the Foundation of the Church, written in the Characters of *Salomon*.

So ancient a Manuscript, and upon so great a Subject, not having been published all this while, and nothing having been ever quoted out of it, one cannot but think that either the *Spanish* Criticks, who have it in their keeping, do not know how to deci-

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decipher *Solomon*'s Characters, or that there is nothing in this Book, that favours the Papal Supremacy in the Church.

But tho this ancient Manuscript has never been once quoted, one of the same Antiquity, and found at the same time, and in the same Place, has been quoted frequently; and that to decide a Controversy which the Pope himself dare not mount his infallible Chair to determine, tho sollicited to do it by a splendid Embassy sent to him by the King of *Spain* solely for that Purpose.

This Manuscript is in *Arabick*, and was writ by St. *Cecilius*: It's Title is,

De Domo Gloriæ & Domo Tormenti.
Of the House of Glory, and the House of Torment.

In this Book, after divers high Encomiums of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, is found the following Definition, made by all the Apostles, of her immaculate Conception.

Illa Virgo Maria, *illa sancta, illa electa, à primo originario; peccato præservata fuit, atq; hæc veritas Apostolorum Concilium est; quam qui negaverit, maledictus & excommunicatus erit, & salutem non consequetur, sed in æternum damnabitur.*

" The

" The Virgin *Mary*, the Holy, the Elect, " was preſerved from the firſt and origi- " nal Sin, and was free from all Guilt. " This Truth is decreed by the Apoſtles met " in a Council. And whoſoever ſhall deny " it, is accurſed, excommunicated, and ſhall " not acquire Salvation, but ſhall be damned " for ever.

It was an unhappy thing for theſe Manuſcripts and Relicks that this Apoſtolical Definition was found in their Company; for had it not been for this Definition, their Truth and Authority had never been queſtion'd by any Perſon in *Spain*; and the *Dominicans*, who, where they dare do it, do now call them late and groſs Impoſtures, would have been their boldeſt Champions.

The Vein of Manuſcripts holds out ſtill; and on the 25th of *April* a Box covered with thick Lead was found, and in it a Book written on leaden Plates, with the following Title.

Liber de Eſſentia Dei, quem Divus Thiſphon *Apoſtoli* Jacobi *diſcipulus in ſua naturali lingua Arabica*, Salomoni *characteribus ſcripſit; & alium, Fundamentum Eccleſiæ appellatum, qui in hujus ſacri Montis Cavernis jacet.*

Deus

Deus à Nerone *Imperatore hos duos liberet libros. Imposuit finem his suis operibus scribens miracula & vitæ inte—itatem sui magistri—vi in hujus sacri montis ea est.*

" A Book of the Essence of God, which " St. *Thisiphon*, a Disciple of *James* the A- " postle, writ in his own natural Tongue, " which was *Arabick*, in *Salomon*'s Chara- " cters; and another called, *The Foundation* " *of the Church*, which is in the Caverns of " this holy Mountain.

" God deliver these two Books from *Nero* " the Emperor. He put an end to his Works, " writing the Miracles —— of his Master " ——who is in the —— Caverns of this " holy Mountain.

I do suspect that the Storm, the pretending to have St. *James*'s Body in their *Granada* Mountain would have brought upon all these new found Relicks from *Compostella*, and all the other Quarters of *Spain*, was the thing that made all the Chasms at the end of this Writing. For it is pretty plain from the remaining Pieces of Words, that when they were entire, they said, that the Body of *Thisiphon*'s Master, who was St. *James* the Apostle, was buried in the Caverns of this holy Mountain. So that had not the Finders of these Manuscripts and Relicks had more Judgment than the

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the Forgers of them, their Credit had been ruined for ever in *Spain* by this ſingle Indiſcretion.

For tho ſome poor Churches rather than go to Law, and ſpend a great deal of Money at *Rome*, have ſuffered ſuch Differences to be compoſed by the common Miracle of multiplying the ſame individual Body, ſo that they all had it; *Compoſtella* is both too rich, and has its Title to St. *James*'s Body too ſtrongly guarded by a numerous Order of valiant Knights, to have ſtoop'd to ſo common an Expedient.

And this they who had the Examination of theſe Manuſcripts, when they were firſt found, knew very well, and ſo did very diſcreetly obliterate that bold Pretence, contenting themſelves with what they knew *Compoſtella* would be willing to allow them, that is, the Bones and Aſhes of that Apoſtle's Diſciples; which had they pretended to more, would never have been allowed them.

I cannot underſtand how the Church would have ſuffered much had this Book, with the Title *of its Foundation*, and its Companion, fallen into *Nero*'s Hands, and been deſtroy'd by him; againſt which he that hid them prays, as if it would have been the greateſt Loſs the Church could have ſuſtained.

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On the 30th of *April* the Basket was pinned with a Plate of Lead, with the following Inscription upon it.

Anno secundo Neronis *Imp. Kalendis Februarii passus est Martyrium in hoc* —— *tano divus* Cecilius *sancti* Jacobi *discipulus, vir literis linguis & sanctitate præditus, Prophetias divi* Joannis *commentavit, quæ sunt posita cum aliis reliquiis in sublimi parte inhabitabilis turris* Turpiane, *sicut dixerunt mihi sui discipuli divus* Setentrius *&* Patricius, *qui cum illo paci sunt quorum pedvenes jacent in unius sacri montis cavernis in quorum memoriam veneretur.*

" In the second Year of the Empire of " *Nero*, on the Kalends of *February*, St. " *Cecilius*, a Disciple of St. *James*, suffered " Martyrdom in this Place of *Hipula*, a " learned Linguist and an holy Man: He " commented upon all the Prophecy of St. " *John* the Apostle; which Commentaries, " with other Relicks, are lodged in the " high part of the uninhabitable *Turpian* " Tower, as I was told by his Disciples " St. *Setentrius* and *Patrick*, who suffered " with him, and whose Dusts do lie in the " Caverns of a certain Mountain, which " in Memory of them ought to be venerated.

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This Plate helps us to the Name of the Tower, wherein the first Relicks were found, and tells us farther, that it was then uninhabitable; but it does not tell what made it to be so, neither is it easy to guess, since it could not well have been ruinous 1500 Years before it was taken down; and haunted it could not be, having so sacred a Treasure lodged in it.

This Collection of Manuscripts being unanimously judged to be genuine by all the Antiquaries and Criticks in Lead and Parchment, as well as in Words, Phrases and History, the Archbishop caused a *Te Deum* to be sung with great Solemnity in his Cathedral, for the finding of so inestimable a Treasure; which, after it had been magnify'd by the Preachers, as the greatest Largess any City had ever receiv'd from Heaven, the Peoples Devotion for the Mountain, which had been delivered of so blessed a Treasure, was so great, that in a short time there were above four hundred Crosses erected upon it; neither would the People have rested there, but would have had Altars likewise set up, and Masses said upon them, had not their Zeal been restrain'd by the Archbishop, until the Mountain was judicially, and according to the Canonical Forms, declared to be holy Ground.

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And to that end, the Archbiſhop ſent a full Narrative of the whole Matter to Pope *Clement* the VIII*th.* from whom he receiv'd a ſpecial Commiſſion to call an Aſſembly to determine it. But before the meeting of that Aſſembly, the *Dominicans*, who, ſhould thoſe Manuſcripts be judged genuine, were by the Apoſtles accurſed, excommunicated, and damned to the Pit of Hell, for denying the Immaculate Conception of the bleſſed Virgin, muſter'd all their Forces, and made ſuch Objections againſt them, as one would think ſhould ſo far have ruined their Credit, as to make it impoſſible for one of common Senſe, and much more for an Aſſembly of wiſe and learned Men, to judge them to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years ſtanding.

The firſt Objection was, That the Prophecy which was found in the Tower, was in true modern *Spaniſh*; a Language that was no where in the World for ſome hundreds of Years after *Nero*'s Death.

The ſecond Objection was, That St. *Cecilius* is called in them, Biſhop of *Granada*; whereas there was no ſuch Biſhoprick, nor no ſuch City, in a great many hundred Years after *Nero*'s Death; *Granada* having been built, and named ſo by the *Moors* 700 Years after *Nero*'s Time; neither was it ever

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ever a Biſhoprick till it was made ſo by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, above 1400 Years after *Nero*.

The third Objection was, That in the Writings the *Moors* are named as then in *Spain*, ſo that the Writings were in Danger of falling into their Hands; whereas it was 700 Years after the Death of *Nero* before the *Moors* came into *Spain*.

The fourth was, That *Arabick* was a Language not known, either in *Barbary* or in *Spain*, till above 500 Years after the Death of *Nero*.

The fifth was, That the Titles of *Divus* and *Sanctus* were not given to Chriſtians in the Apoſtles Days, nor in a great many Years after, eſpecially not whilſt they were alive.

The ſixth was, That the fourteen firſt Verſes of the Goſpel of St. *John*, as they are ſung in the *Roman* Offices, are in this Writing; which Goſpel was not writ till ſeveral Years after *Nero*'s Death.

The ſeventh was, That St. *Stephen*'s Body was not found before the Reign of the Emperor *Honorius*, who was 300 Years after *Nero*.

The eighth was, That the Holy Ghoſt was not called the Third Perſon till after the Apoſtle's Days.

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The ninth was, That ſuch a fantaſtical way of Writing was late, and unworthy of the Gravity of St. *Cecilius*.

The tenth was, That the whole had the Air of a Fraud in it very ſenſibly.

Theſe were the Objections which were made againſt the Writings found in the uninhabitable *Turpian* Tower.

Neither were the Objections made againſt thoſe which were found in the Mountain leſs unanſwerable.

The firſt Objection was, That all Hiſtorians do agree, that there was no Perſecution in the ſecond Year of *Nero*.

The ſecond was, That it is certain that *Illipula* was not near the Place where *Granada* ſtands.

The third was, That the Mountain wherein theſe Relicks were found, having been the Place where publick Malefactors were put to Death and buried, there was Cauſe to believe that the Bones and Aſhes which had been found in them, were the Relicks of the publick Malefactors.

The fourth was, That the ancient Book, call'd *Fundamentum Eccleſiæ*, was condemned a thouſand Years before by Pope *Gelaſius*, as ſpurious.

The fifth was, That the Word *Eſſentia*, as

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as it is here used, was a Term lately devised by the Schoolmen.

The sixth was, That St. *Hiscius* having been called *Abenathar* before he was converted, and St. *Thesiphon* having writ in *Arabick*, and in the Characters of *Salomon*, has the Air of an idle Tale.

The last was, that the Words, the Phrase, and the spelling of the *Latin* in these Manuscripts are so barbarous and false, that they must have been written a great many hundred Years after *Nero*'s Death.

To these Objections which were made in *Spain*, several others may be added.

1. That the whole of this blundring Imposture stands upon the Story of St. *James* the Apostle's having been in *Spain*, and having made a great many Disciples there; which is as gross a Fiction, as any in the *Roman* Legends; and was condemned as such by an Archbishop of *Toledo* when it was first broached, which was a thousand Years after the Apostles Days.

2. There are several Doctrines found in these Writings, which were not hatched till some hundreds of Years after the Death of the Apostles; as its being meritorious to visit holy Places, Transubstantiation, auricular Confession, the immaculate Conception, *&c.*

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Laſtly, none of the Perſons named in theſe Writings were ever heard of in a great many hundred Years after the Apoſtles Days; and ſome of them, as *Centurius*, *Luparius*, *Patrick*, &c. were never heard of before the time of this Diſcovery.

I ſhall give the Reader only a Taſte of the Anſwers returned by Dr. *Madera* to ſome of theſe Objections.

One Anſwer is, That the *Spaniſh* Language was the very ſame as it is now; not only in *Nero*'s Days, but before any *Roman* ever came into *Spain*.

Another is, That the City of *Granada* was in being, and was a Biſhoprick, and was called by that Name in the Apoſtles Days.

A third is, That *Arabick* was a Language uſed in *Spain* and *Barbary*, long before they were conquered by the *Arabs*.

And a fourth is, That St. *John*'s Goſpel was written before the ſecond Year of *Nero*, and that in that Year there was a great Perſecution.

All which are ſuch monſtrous Abſurdities, that one would not think it poſſible, for a Perſon of any knowledge in Antiquity, to affirm them to be Truths. And yet Dr. *Madera*, who was a very learned Man, does it, and with an Aſſurance which no Truths that are not undeniably atteſted can lay Claim to; only in his Preface where he

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ſpeaks of the Diſpoſition of Mind, that is neceſſary to the paſſing of a true Judgment on ſuch ſacred Antiquities; he ſeems to have had ſome Miſgivings about them, in exhorting all that would judge aright of ſuch Matters, not to ſuffer Thoughts to ariſe in their Hearts againſt them; that is to ſay, they muſt not allow themſelves the liberty to think of any thing, that would ſhake their implicite Belief of them.

Now it is by this very Courſe that all ſenſible *Roman Catholicks* are kept from diſcovering the groſs Falſhood of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and of divers other Errors and pretended Facts, even that vile Bondage of Thought which the *Roman Church* keeps her Sheep under, and which is her chief Security.

But though they whoſe Minds ſtand thus affected to any thing, do not disbelieve it, becauſe they are reſolved not to ſuffer their Minds to do that, yet they cannot be ſaid to believe it, any farther, than a forced not disbelieving, is believing.

And how acceptable ſuch a Belief, if it deſerves that Name, even when its Objects happen to be true, can be to God, who requires a reaſonable Service from his reaſonable Creatures, I leave to any one to judge.

And as the Anſwers returned by the Champions of theſe Manuſcripts and Relicks

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licks to the Objection which had been made againſt them, are monſtrouſly abſurd, ſo their Arguments to prove them to be genuine, are of the ſame Stamp.

One of their *Arguments* is, That theſe Manuſcripts and Relicks have as ſtrong Evidences of their being true, as thoſe had which were found after the ſame manner at *Corduba*, or as thoſe of St. *Placidius*, found in *Sicily*.

I believe this may be true; and if it would have given any ſtrength to their *Argument*, they might juſtly have added, and as thoſe of *Compoſtella*, and of the itinerant Chappel of *Loretto*, and as an hundred more, which are all equally kept in credit, by pure dint of Forehead, or by Bondage of Thought.

Their 2*d Argument* is, That if theſe Writings were ſuppoſititious, they muſt have been forged either by a *Mahometan*, an *Heretick*, or a *Catholick*: The two firſt, as great Friends as they are to Forgeries of this Nature, would not forge Writings which ſhould condemn their own Sects; and as for a Catholick, he is not capable of ſo ill a thing as the counterfeiting of Writings, and putting Saints Names to them.

It will eaſily be granted, that the *Mahometan* and *Heretick* had no hand in theſe Writings; but that a *Roman Catholick* is not

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not capable of doing ſuch things, and of reckoning it to be meritorious, cannot be granted ſo eaſily; ſuch pious Frauds as theſe having never been uſed ſo much by all the Sects of Religion put together, or with ſo good Succeſs, as by the *Roman* Church and her Members, for ſome hundreds of Years.

The 3d *Argument* is, That they have proved themſelves genuine by the vaſt Multitude of Miracles which have been wrought by them, ſince they were diſcovered.

What ſtrange Infidels does this Argument make the *Dominicans*, who live in *Granada*, to be, who will not be convinced by ſo many Miracles wrought under their Noſes? But ſince in Diſputes among themſelves, when innumerable Miracles are by both ſides affirmed to have been wrought, in Favour of their contrary Cauſes, that Pretence is by both rejected with Scorn and Contempt. Why may not ſuch a Pretence in this Caſe, deſerve to be treated by others in the ſame manner? However, there is one thing, would the Patrons of theſe Relicks be perſwaded to it, that would help them to more Credit in the World, than their giving out that they have wrought a thouſand Miracles in *Granada*, and that is, if they cannot ſpare them all, to ſend one

one of 'em to work but one ſingle Miracle on the *Exchange* of *London* or of *Amſterdam*; for, whatever they may think, it is no ſmall Prejudice to the Reputation of the innumerable Miracles, which are confidently ſaid to be wrought daily by the Relicks in the *Roman* Church, in Confirmation of their own Truth, and of ſeveral of that Church's Doctrines, that it is their conſtant ill Fate to be wrought no where, but among thoſe who do not want their Teſtimony, but never among thoſe that do.

But their Laſt (and in *Spain* unanſwerable) Argument is, the following ſolemn and unanimous Deciſion made in their Favour, by the Archbiſhop of *Granada*, in a full Aſſembly of *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laicks*, called together for that Purpoſe.

In the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'WE, *Don Peter de Caſtro*, by the 'Grace of God, and the Holy Apoſtolick See, Archbiſhop of *Granada*, and 'Counſellor to his Majeſty, with the Aſſent of the moſt Reverend Prelates, *Don* '*John de Fonſeca*, Biſhop of *Guadis*, and one 'of his Majeſty's Council, our Com-Provincial and Suffragan, and *Don Sebaſtian* 'Quin-

'*Quintero*, Biſhop of *Galipoli*, and *Don Alfonſo de Mendoca*, Abbot of *Alcala la Real*.

'Having examined all the Relicks 'which were found at the taking down of a 'moſt ancient Tower in this our Church, 'in the Year 1588. as alſo all thoſe which 'were found in the Mountain near this Ci-'ty, called *Valparayſo*, in the Year 1595. 'and the Cogniſance and Approbation of 'ſuch things belonging to us by common 'Right, and by the Council of *Trent*, as 'alſo by a ſpecial Commiſſion from our 'moſt Holy Father, *Clement* VIII. And ha-'ving ſeen a Proceſs concerning this Matter, 'and examin'd all the Informations, Con-'firmations, and Reſearches, which have 'been made therein; and having conſulted 'and deliberated with moſt learned and 'pious Men, as well Divines as of all other 'Faculties whom we have aſſembled; and 'having done every thing elſe that was 'neceſſary, or that ſeemed to be conve-'nient:

'We being all unanimous, do with one 'Mind and Senſe declare what we ought; 'and we do declare, define and pronounce 'the ſaid Relicks contain'd in this Proceſs, 'to wit, the half of the Cloath wherewith 'our Lady, the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, 'wiped off her Tears, ſhed at the Paſſion of

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'her Son, our Redeemer, and the Bone of 'St. *Stephen* the first Martyr, to be, and 'they truly are, half the Handkerchief of 'our Lady, and the Bone of the first Mar-'tyr, St. *Stephen*; and to have been hid, 'shut up, and kept within the Wall of a 'most ancient Tower, which stood in the 'Place whereon the chief Church of this 'City was built, having been put into a 'Leaden Box, soder'd within and without: 'In which Box there was likewise a Rela-'tion of one *Patrick*, a Priest, written in 'very ancient Parchment; which declares, 'that the said Relicks were there, and that 'they had been hid by the Command 'of St. *Cecilius*: All which was found 'in the said Leaden Box, in the said Year '1588. on the 19*th* of *March*, being *Sa-'turday*, the Day of St. *Joseph*, in the 'taking down and demolishing the said 'Tower.

'And we do likewise declare, define and 'pronounce the Bones, Ashes, Dust, and 'the white Clods, which in the Year 1595. 'were found within the Caverns of the 'said Mountain, called *Valparayso*, to be 'the true Relicks of the Holy Martyrs, 'who are now enjoying God, and are 'reigning with him in Heaven; to wit, 'of the Holy Martyrs, St. *Cecilius*, St. *His-'cius*, and St. *Thesiphon*, the Disciples of the

'Blessed

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'Blessed Apostle, St. *James*, Son of *Zebedee*; 'as also of St. *Septentrio*, and of *Patrick*, 'the Disciples of St. *Cecilius*, and of St. *Tu-'rillus*, *Paunncius*, *Maranias*, *Centulius*, the 'Disciples of St. *Hiscius*, and of St. *Maxi-'minus* and *Luparius*, the Disciples of 'St. *Thesiphon*; as also of *Mesiton*, and that 'all the said Saints, *Cecilius*, *Hiscius*, and '*Thesiphon*, and all their said Disciples, and 'St. *Mesiton*, did suffer Martyrdom, and 'were all burnt alive within the Caves and 'Caverns of the said Mountains, for Je-'sus Christ our Redeemer, and for his 'Holy Catholick Faith, and for preach-'ing and publishing of the Holy Go-'spel, in the Second Year of the Empire 'of *Nero*.

'St. *Cecilius* and his Disciples on the first 'of *February*; St. *Hiscius* and his Disciples, 'on the first of *March*, having been burnt 'as Stones turned into Lime; and St. *The-'siphon* and his Disciples on the first of *April*, 'as is declared and shewed by four Plates 'of most ancient Lead, written in the *La-'tin* Tongue, in most ancient Characters, 'and some other Instruments of most an-'cient Lead; all which were inclosed and hid 'within the said Caverns until now, that 'we found them in the said Year 95; all 'which is manifest, and is resolved and 'confirmed by this Process, God having al-

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'ſo demonſtrated and proved the ſame by 'many Miracles.

'In conſequence whereof we do declare, 'That the ſaid Relicks ought to be receiv'd, 'honoured, venerated, and adored, with 'due Honour and Worſhip, as the true 'Relicks of our Lady, and of the ſaid Mar-'tyrs, who do reign with our Lord God, 'according as the *Roman Catholick* Church 'uſeth to venerate the Relicks of Saints; 'and that they ought to be publickly 'ſhewed to Chriſtian People, and to all the 'Faithful for that Purpoſe, that all may in-'vocate them.

'And we with all theſe here aſſembled 'do ſo receive and venerate them; and 'we do command, that they be all put 'in a ſafe Place, ſuch as ſhall be judged 'by us or our Succeſſors to be moſt de-'cent.

'And we do farther declare the ſaid Place, 'and Mountain of *Valparayſo*, in whoſe Ca-'verns all the ſaid Saints ſuffered Martyr-'dom, to be a holy and ſacred Place, which 'ought to be honoured and venerated, as 'the ſaid Plates do command, in Memory 'of the ſaid Saints, who ſuffer'd Martyr-'dom in them, and to enjoy all the Pre-'rogatives, which are by common Right, 'and by the Canons given to ſuch ſacred 'Places. And we do command this to be

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'obſerved; and by this our Sentence we do 'ſo pronounce and command, and do ſign 'it with our Name, and ſeal it with our 'Hanging Seal.

Peter de Caſtro *Joannes Epiſcop,*
Archiep. Granat. *Guadix.*
S. Epiſcopus Galipol. *Alphonſus Abbas*
Subſcripſi. *Subſcripſi.*

'We the Lords of the Royal Audience, 'and Chancery of his Majeſty reſiding in 'this City, having been named by his 'Lordſhip the Lord Archbiſhop, and be- 'ing here preſent, do ſubſcribe and ſign it. 'Licentiate *Peter Mallem de Rueda*, Dr. *Anto- ny Burrab*, Dr. *Antony Corriero*, *Li. Don* 'Ochao de Lugando, *Li. Don John de Cur* 'niga, *Li. Don Baltaſar de Lovencana*, *Don* 'John de St. Vincente, *Li. Don Francis de* 'Teiada y Mendoca, *Li. Greyory Lopez Ma-* 'dera.

'For the moſt illuſtrious Archbiſhop of 'Santiago, *Li. Don John de St. Clemente* 'Archdeacon of *Neodes*; *Li. Alonſo Lo-* 'pez, Canon: For the Dean and Chap- 'ter of the ſaid Metropolitan Church of 'St. *Jago*; Dr. *Luke Alonſo de Caſtro*, Arch- 'deacon of *Voux*, and Canon: For the

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'Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church 'of *Corduba*, *Don Rodrigo velarde de Morillon*; 'Dr. *Diego Lopez de Fromeſta*, *John de Riaca* 'de *Caneto*, Dr. *Alvare de Cardenas*: For 'the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church 'of *Guadix*, Dr. *Don James de Santta Cruz.* 'Saareda, Chantor; *Li. Chriſtopher San-* 'chez de Soto, Doctoral Canon. For his 'Lordſhip and the Dean and Chapter of 'the Metropolitan Church of *Granada*, 'were preſent Dr. *Don Peter Guerrero*, 'Treaſurer; *Li. Don Peter de Molina*, 'Doctoral Canon, and Profeſſor of Canon 'Law, and Apoſtolical Inquiſitor; *Li.* 'Don George de Texerina, Dean; Dr. *Don* 'Lewis de Caſtella, Archdeacon; Dr. *Don* 'Lewis de Raya, School-Maſter; Dr. *Don* 'John de la Canal, Prior; Dr. *Don Fran-* 'cis Pacleto, Canon and Profeſſor of the 'Scripture; Dr. *Don Gontalo Sanchez Lu-* 'zeno Magiſtral, Canon and Profeſſor of 'Divinity; *Li. Juſtin Antolinez de Burgos*, 'Proviſor and Vicar General of *Granada*. 'For the moſt Reverend the Biſhop of 'Alemeria, Dr. *Peter Martinez de Eſpinoza*, 'Chaplain of the Royal Chappel; Fryar 'John Ramirez, Provincial and Diſinidor 'General, and Conſultor of the Holy Of- 'fice of the Order of St. *Francis*: Fryar 'James Ocon, Dr. Provincial, and Vicar 'General of the Order of the moſt Holy 'Tri-

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'Trinity; *Francis de Queſada*, Provincial 'of the Society of *Jeſus*; Fryar *John de* 'Polanco, Prior of the *Carthuſians*; Fryar '*Vincent Cano Valenceula*, Maſter of Divi-'nity, and Prior *de Sancta Cruz Iareal*; 'Fryar *Fuſtero*, M. Guardian of St. *Fran-'cis*; *Peter de Vargas*, Rector of the So-'ciety of *Jeſus*; Maſter Fryar *Hernando* 'de Peralta, of the Order of St. *Auſtin*; 'Maſter Fryar *Francis de Segoria*, of the 'Order of St. *Hierom*; Fryar *John Rome-'ra*, Maſter and Rector of the Study of '*Santa Cruz de Real* of *Granada*; Maſter 'Fryar *Francis Nunes*, the Chief Preacher 'of the Convent of St. *Auſtin* in *Granada*; 'Maſter Fryar *Peter de Medina*, Profeſſor 'of Divinity, and Definitor of *Andaluſia*, of 'the Order of the Mercy; *Thomas Sanchez*, 'a Theologue, and a profeſſed of the Socie-'ty of *Jeſus*; *Mart de Caſtillo*, M: of Di-'vinity, and Rector of the *Jeſuits* Col-'lege in *Sevil*; *Auſtin Quireſius*, a Theo-'logue of the Society of *Jeſus*.

Note, *That tho there are Fryars of all other Orders among theſe Subſcribers, there is not one of the* Dominican; *the Eyes of that Order, which in all ſuch Matters are commonly ſhut as cloſe as any others, having been opened as to this, by the Apoſtolical Definition of the Immaculate Conception,*

tion, which was found among these Manuscripts.

The glorious Victory bold Authority here had over Learning, Reason, and common Sense, plainly demonstrates how little Regard, in Matters of Religion, is due to the Determinations of any Assembly, that holds it to be lawful, if not meritorious, to lie for God, by making use of pious Frauds for the Encouragement of Devotion, let such Assemblies be never so numerous, and the Persons they consist of be never so eminent for Wisdom and Learning, and for Integrity too in all other Cases. For could any thing but that vile Opinion's having reigned in this Assembly, ever have made so many Persons of great Wisdom and Learning, and in such high Posts, so far to have disgraced their Judgments, and prostituted their Consciences, as solemnly, and as in the Sight of God, to pronounce Writings, which are so palpably spurious, and but of Yesterday, to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years standing.

For that all these Manuscripts were forged and hid, after the City of *Granada* was in the Year 1492, recover'd from the *Moors*, is too notorious for any one that is able to read them, to doubt. And

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if by the *three Enemies in the Weſt*, mentioned in the Prophecy, Dr. *Egidio*, Dr. *Conſtantine*, and Dr. *Cazala*, are meant, as it is more than probable they are, theſe Manuſcripts muſt not then have been forty Years old when they were found; thoſe three great Glories of *Spain*, for Learning, Zeal, and Piety, not having been taken up by the Inquiſition for being Proteſtants, until after the Year 1550.

But though the Manuſcripts are all palpably very modern, it is not improbable that the Relicks of Bones and Aſhes may be as ancient as the Plates ſay they are; the Caverns wherein they were found having been the burying Place of publick Malefactors in the times of the *Romans*.

Neither is it any new thing, that the Bones and Aſhes of ſuch ſhould come to be venerated, and being viſited with great Devotion, that they ſhould be reckon'd to work Miracles; the Complaint, that ſome whoſe Souls were in Hell, had their Bodies or ſome part of them venerated on Earth, being near as ancient as the Superſtition of venerating Relicks. And let Relicks be whoſe they will, when they are viſited by great Multitudes of People with Devotion, for the Recove-

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ry of their Health, unleſs none that viſit them do ever recover, which in ſuch Multitudes would be a Miracle indeed, they will infallibly be reckoned to have wrought Miracles.

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A

VIEW

OF THE

COURT of INQUISITION.

IN

PORTUGAL:

With a LIST of the Priſoners that came forth in an Act of the Faith celebrated at *Lisbon*, in the Year 1682.

THE Court of Inquiſition, which in *Portugal* is commonly called, *The Holy Office*, and *The Holy Houſe*, conſiſts of an *Inquiſitor General*, the Supreme Council, Inquiſitors, Aſſeſſors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Advocate Fiſcal, a Treaſurer, Familiars, and Goalers.

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The Inquiſitor General, who is commonly called the *Inquiſidor Mor*, is named by the King, but confirmed and authorized by the Pope, to act as his Delegate. He lives conſtantly at *Lisbon*, in an Houſe in the Inquiſition, which belongs to his Office. It is a Place of ſo great Dignity and Profit, that the Cardinal *Infante Don Henry*, and *Albert* Cardinal, Archduke of *Auſtria*, were in it, and *Don Veriſſimo Alencaſtro* left the Primacy of *Braga* for it.

The Counſellors of the Supreme Court are all named by the *Inquiſitor Major*, but muſt before they act have the King's approbation. This Council ſits conſtantly twice at *Lisbon*.

The Inquiſitors, who are commonly Secular Prieſts, do belong either to the Supreme Court which is fixed at *Lisbon*, or to the Inquiſitions of *Conimbra*, *Ebora*, or *Goa* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which Courts have all the ſame inferiour Officers, and Stiles, and have all their Acts of the Faith.

The Aſſeſſors are Divines, Civilians, and Canoniſts, which are conſulted by the Inquiſitors in all difficult Caſes.

The Qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of Books, and are commonly *Dominican Fryars*.

It to be hoped, the *Hereſy* of *Doctrines* is better underſtood by theſe Qualificators, than

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than the Etymology of the Word *Heretick* was by the Writer of their *Repertorium*, printed at *Venice* in the Year 1588, who to shew his Critical Learning, saith, the Word *Hæreticus*, according to some, is compounded of *Erro*, and *Recto*; because an *Heretick* errs from what is right. According to others it is derived from *Ercisco*, which signifies to divide; and according to some it comes from *Adhæreo*, because it is one's adhering obstinately to an Error, that makes him an *Heretick*. And with the same stock of Learning it was, that another *Inquisitor* proved from St. *Paul*'s Words, *Hæreticum devita*, that *Christians* were commanded *to deprive Hereticks of their Lives*.

The Secretary writes down whatever is said judicially in the Inquisition.

The *Advocate Fiscal* prosecutes the Prisoner with his utmost skill and diligence to convict him of Heresy.

The Treasurer has the Estate and all the Goods of the Prisoner put into his hands, when the Prisoner is apprehended.

The *Familiars* are the *Bayliffs* of the *Inquisition*; which tho it is a vile Office in all other Criminal Courts, is esteemed so honourable in this of the *Inquisition*, that there is not a Nobleman in the Kingdom that is not in it, and such are commonly em-

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employ'd by the *Inquisitors* to apprehend People; Neither is it any wonder, that Persons of the highest Quality do desire to be thus employ'd, since the same plenary Indulgence is by the Pope granted to every single Exercise of this Office, as was granted by the *Lateran Council* to those that succoured the *Holy Land*.

The Goalers are directed by the Inquisitors, how to dispose of, and how to treat their Prisoners, and are straitly charged not to give, nor to suffer them to have any manner of Intelligence.

The Inquisitors, and all their Officers do take an Oath, not to discover any thing that is said or done within the Walls of the Inquisition to any Person whatsoever, neither is there any thing more severely punished by this Court, than the Violation of that Oath.

And whereas the Pope's having thus appointed Inquisitors to be the Judges of Heresie, was a great Incroachment on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which the Papal ever since it pretended to be Monarchical, has sought by a thousand ways to lessen; the Popes, to make this Encroachment go down the easier, allowed two Privileges to the Bishops; the one was, that the Inquisitors should not have Authority to Imprison a Bishop: And the other was, that

before

before they condemned any Perſon as a Heretick, they ſhould ſend to the Biſhop of the Place, to concur with them in that Sentence; which two Conſtitutions, though they are ſtill in force, are of little benefit to the Biſhops; who tho they may not be impriſoned upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy by the Inquiſitors, may be confined to their Houſes by them, until they have inform'd the Pope, as the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* was in the Reign of *Philip* II. And if the Biſhop, when he is acquainted with the Proceſs of the Priſoner, ſhould refuſe to agree to his being condemned, the Inquiſitors may paſs Sentence notwithſtanding; for in this, as in all other Caſes, the Divine Authority of Biſhops, when it happens to claſh as they term it, with the Papal, muſt ſtill give way to it.

The Court of Inquiſition proceeds ſummarily, and moſt commonly upon a Denuntiation, as they term it, which does not, like an Accuſation, diſable the Perſon that makes it to be a Witneſs. The Inquiſition forceth all to inform that can do it, by Edicts in the Form following.

TO all, and ſingular Chriſtians, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Laicks of both Sexes, of whatſoever Degree, Order, Condition, Preeminence, Dignity, or Authority, the higheſt

not

not excepted. Know ye, That we by the Series and Tenor of these Presents, and by our Authority, and by that of the Office we execute here, do Charge and Command, That within twelve Days after the Publication hereof, (the first four of which are to be as the first, and the next four as the second and the last four as a preremptory and third Canonical Admonition) all that do know or suspect any of Heresy, do come and inform against them, upon Pain of the greater Excommunication latæ Sententiæ, *which shall be* ipso facto *incurred, and from which they cannot be absolved by any, but by our Lord the Pope, or by us. And we do further Certify, That whosoever, despising the Penalty of this Excommunication, shall forbear to inform us, shall moreover be proceeded against as a* Favourer of Hereticks.

If the Informer, when he comes in, names any Witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examined, do take an Oath, not to discover to any Person their having been with the Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they said, saw, or heard within that Court.

All People, tho never so infamous, and tho they stand convicted of Perjury, are *in favour of the Faith*, and in *detestation of Hereticks*, admitted by the Inquisition to be Witnesses, Mortal Enemies only excepted.

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This Exception is of little Benefit to the Prisoner, by reason of his not knowing who they are that have informed and witnessed against him.

The Depositions of the Informer, and Witnesses, if there be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is sent for, and being come, he has the following Order put into his Hand.

BY *the Command of the Reverend Father* N. *an Inquisitor of* Heretical Pravity, *let* N. *be apprehended and committed to the Prisons of this Holy Office, and not be released out of them but by the express Order of the said Reverend Inquisitor.*

If several Persons are to be taken up at the same time, the Familiars are commanded so to order things, that they may know nothing of one another's being apprehended; and at this the Familiars are so expert, that a Father and his three Sons, and three Daughters, who lived together in the same House, were all carried Prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing any thing of one another's being there, until seven Years afterwards, when they that were alive, came forth in an *Act of the Faith*.

The Prisoner being apprehended and carried with all possible Secrecy to the Inquisition, is delivered to the Goaler. The

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The Prisons of the Inquisition are little dark Rooms, and have no other Furniture but a hard Quilt, and an useful Pot. The Prisoners are not suffered to see any Body but their Keeper, who brings them their Diet, and with it a lighted Lamp, which burns about half an Hour; neither must their Keeper, without Leave from the Inquisitors, entertain any Discourse with them.

After the Prisoner has spent two or three Days and Nights, perhaps Weeks or Months, in his melancholy Apartment, he is carried by his Keeper before the Inquisitors; who, before they ask him a Question, do make him take an Oath to return true Answers to all their Interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any *Heresy* to confess it to them.

The first Question the Prisoner is asked, is, *Whether he knows why he was taken up by the Inquisition?* And if he answers, *That he does not know*; he is then asked, *Whether he knows for what Crimes the Inquisition useth to imprison People?* If he answers, *For Heresy*; he is admonished, upon the Oath he has taken, to confess all his *Heresies*, and to discover all his Teachers, and Complices. If the Prisoner denies that he ever held any *Heresies*, or had ever any Communication with any *Heretiks*, he is gravely told,

That

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That the Holy Office does not uſe to impriſon People raſhly, or without having good Grounds for what they do, and that therefore he would do well to confeſs his Guilt; and that the rather, becauſe the Holy Office, *contrary to the Cuſtom of all other Courts, is ſevere to thoſe that deny, but merciful to all that confeſs their Guilt.*

If the Priſoner perſiſts in denying that he ever held any *Hereſies*, his Goaler is called in, and commanded to carry him back to the Place from whence he came, and the Priſoner is admoniſhed ſtrictly to examine his own Conſcience, that the next time they ſend for him, he may be prepared to make a true and full Confeſſion of all his *Hereſies*, *Teachers*, and *Complices*. The Priſoner having been allowed two or three Days, perhaps Weeks or Months, more to do this in, is brought before the Inquiſitors a ſecond time, and is asked, *Whether he comes prepared to confeſs?* And if he anſwers, *That he cannot without accuſing himſelf or others falſly, make any ſuch Confeſſion as they deſire of him*; they do then ask him, *Where he was born, and what his Parents were, and where he went to School, and who were his School-maſters, and where he has lived all his time, and with whom he has converſed moſt, and who has been his Confeſſor, and when he was laſt at Confeſſion, and at the Sacrament?* with twenty more ſuch Queſtions: And being

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ing told, *That they have ſufficient Proof of his being an Heretick*; they command him, ſince he cannot repent of his Hereſies, unleſs he confeſſeth them all, to go back to his Priſon, and there pray to God for Grace to diſpoſe him to make a true and full Confeſſion to the ſaving of his Soul, which is all they ſeek after. And being again allowed a conſiderable time to pray, and conſider on what the Inquiſitors have ſaid to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in caſe he perſiſts in pleading, Not guilty, he is then asked ſome Queſtions concerning divers *Heretical Doctrines*, but without acquainting him with the Particulars he is charged withal, for fear of leading him thereby to the Knowledge of the Informers or Witneſſes: For Example, *Whether he believes Chriſt to be bodily preſent in the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore Images, and to pray to Saints and Angels?* And if he affirms, *That he did always firmly believe theſe, and all the other Doctrines of the Roman Church*; he is asked, *If he always believed theſe Doctrines, how he came to ſpeak againſt them?* and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, *That ſince he is ſo obſtinate in his Hereſies, of which they have a ſufficient Proof before them, they will order their Advocate Fiſcal to form his Proceſs, and to convict him of them.* But in caſe the Inquiſitors

tors have not sufficient Evidence, notwithstanding that, to draw a Confession from the Prisoner, they have told him oftner than once, *That they had*, they do then fall a Note lower, and tell the Prisoner, That though they may not have sufficient Proof of his *Heretical Words* and *Actions* to convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the Rack, to make him confess them. And having fixed the Day when he is to undergo the Tortures, when that dismal Day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a Confession as is expected from him, he is led to the Place where the Rack is, attended by an Inquisitor, and a Publick Notary, who is to write down the Answers the Prisoner returns to the Questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor, whilst he is upon the Rack. During the time the Executioner is preparing that Engine of unspeakable Cruelty, and is taking off the Prisoner's Clothes to his Shirt and Drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the Prisoner to have Compassion both on his Body and Soul, and by making a true and full Confession of all his *Heresies*, to prevent his being tortured. But if the Prisoner saith, That he will suffer any thing rather than accuse himself or others falsly, the Inquisitor commands the Executioner to do his Duty, and to begin the Torture; which in the Inqui-

fition is given by twiſting a ſmall Cord hard about the Priſoners naked Arms, brought behind his Back, and hoiſting him up from the Ground by an Engine to which the Cord is faſtned: And as if the miſerable Priſoner's hanging in the Air by his Arms, were not torment enough, he has ſeveral Quaſſations or Shakes given him; which is done by ſcrewing his Body up higher, and letting it down again with a Jirk, which diſjoints his Arms, and after that the Torture is much more exquiſite than it was before.

When the Priſoner is firſt hoiſted from the Ground, an Hour-glaſs is turned up, which (if he does not prevent it by making ſuch a Confeſſion of his Hereſies as the Inquiſitor that is preſent all the while, and is continually asking him Queſtions, expects from him,) muſt run out before he is taken down; To promiſe to make ſuch a Confeſſion, if they will take him off the Rack, not being ſufficient to procure him that Mercy, no more than his crying out that he ſhall expire immediately if they do not give him ſome Eaſe; that, as the Inquiſitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon their Rack do think they are ready to do.

If the Priſoner endures the Rack without confeſſing any thing, which few, or none, though never ſo innocent, are able

to

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to do; ſo ſoon as the Hour-glaſs is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his Priſon, where there is a Surgeon ready to put his Bones in joint. And though in all other Courts, the Priſoners having endured the Rack without Confeſſing the Crimes for which they were tortured, clears 'em and makes void all the Evidence that was againſt them, yet in the Inquiſition, where whatſoever Humanity and right Reaſon have eſtabliſhed in favour of the Priſoner, is left to the Diſcretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwiſe; the Priſoners that will not confeſs any thing, being uſually racked twice; and if they ſtand it out, tho few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the Priſoner makes the Confeſſion the Inquiſitor expects he ſhould on the Rack, it is writ down word for word by the Notary, and is, after the Priſoner has had a day or two's Reſt, carry'd to the Priſoner, to ſet his hand to it, which if the Priſoner does, it puts an end to his Proceſs, the want of ſufficient Evidence to have convicted him, being abundantly ſupply'd by this extorted Confeſſion, being thus ſigned by him. But in caſe the Priſoner, when it is brought to him, refuſeth to ſign it, affirming it to be falſe, and to have been extorted from him by the Extremity of the Torture, he is then carried to the Rack a

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ſecond time to oblige him to repeat and ſign the ſame Confeſſion.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a Priſoner in the Inquiſition for Hereſy, to eſcape the Rack, ſince neither the profeſſing and maintaining the Doctrines to be true wherewith he is charged, nor the denying of them, can ſecure him from it, the firſt being commonly Racked, to make them diſcover their Teachers and Accomplices; and the ſecond, to oblige them to confeſs their own Guilt. And if a Priſoner does confeſs his having ſpoke ſome Heretical Words, but to ſave his Eſtate, ſtands in his having ſpoke them raſhly, and in a Paſſion, without an Heretical Mind, he is racked to make him diſcover whether it was ſo or not, or whether his Thoughts were not the ſame with his Words. If a Priſoner either makes no Confeſſion at all, or does not confeſs the particular Heretical Words or Facts wherewith he ſtands charged, and with which the Inquiſitors will never acquaint him; he is asked whether he has any thing beſides his Denial to offer in his own Defence, and if he has to make uſe of it: For now the Advocate Fiſcal, upon their having Evidence enough againſt him, is ordered to form his Proceſs. Here, if the Priſoner alledgeth, that unleſs they will be pleaſed to let him know the particular

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cular Heretical Words, or Facts, he ſtands charged withal, and who the Perſons are that have informed and witneſſed againſt him, it will not be poſſible for him to make any Defence; he is told, that cannot be done, becauſe, to let him know the particular Heretical Words or Facts, might lead him to the Knowledge of the Informers and Witneſſes; who by the fundamental Law of the Inquiſition, muſt never either directly or indirectly be diſcovered to him.

Now for this ſingular and inhuman Cuſtom of not letting their Priſoners know the particular Facts they ſtand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witneſſed againſt them, the Inquiſitors have nothing to ſay, but that it is neceſſary to the Security of the Lives of the Accuſers and Witneſſes, who if they were known, would be in ſo great danger; that none would dare to venture to inform or bear Witneſs againſt Hereticks in their Court. Which Pretence, tho it might have ſome Ground when Courts of Inquiſition were firſt erected, no City, no not *Rome* it ſelf, having ſubmitted quietly to them when they were firſt introduced; it is now notorious to all the World, and to none more than to the Inquiſitors themſelves, that it is altogether groundleſs, and eſpecially in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where the Inquiſi-

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tion is not only eſtabliſhed by Law, but by a wonderful Faſcination, is ſo fixed in the Hearts and Affections of the People, that one that ſhould offer the leaſt Affront to another, for having been an Informer or Witneſs in the Inquiſition, would be torn in a thouſand Pieces: And did the Priſoners that have been in the Inquiſition but know certainly, who the Perſons were, that had informed and witneſſed againſt them, they durſt not for their Lives ſpeak one word againſt them, or ſhew them the leſs Reſpect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a Cuſtom ſo ſingularly unjuſt and cruel, and upon a Pretence all the World knows to be altogether groundleſs, is a Confidence not to be matched any where, that I know of.

The Priſoner being thus deny'd the knowledge of the Things and Perſons, without which it is ſcarce poſſible for him, tho never ſo innocent, to make any Defence, he is notwithſtanding that, graciouſly asked by the Inquiſitors, whether he deſires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it. If the Priſoner ſaith he would, he is not to name them, but muſt take thoſe the Inquiſitors ſhall appoint, who before they have ſeen their Client, muſt take the following Oath.

J. N.

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I J. N. *Doctor of both Laws, do in the Preſence of the Lords Inquiſitors of this Place againſt Heretical Pravity, having my Hand on the Holy Goſpel of God, promiſe and ſwear ſincerely and faithfully to defend and maintain the Cauſe of* N. *a Priſoner, in the Priſons of this holy Office, who ſtands accuſed and impeached for Cauſes mentioned in its Acts; but ſo, as not to uſe any Trick or Cavil, or to inſtruct my ſaid Client how to conceal the Truth in Judgment. And I do farther promiſe and ſwear, That if I ſhall by any way diſcover my ſaid Client to be guilty of the Crime or Crimes wherewith he ſtands charged, I will thereupon immediately diſmiſs his Cauſe. And if by having ſearched narrowly into his Caſe, I ſhall diſcover that he has had Complices in his Hereſies, I will give Information againſt them to this holy Office: All which I do promiſe upon Pain of Perjury, and of an Excommunication, from which I cannot be abſolved by any but by this holy Office. So help me God, and theſe holy Goſpels.*

The ſame Oath is taken by the Priſoner's Proctor, as the Inquiſitors call him, tho in Truth, both he and the Advocate are the Inquiſitors Engines, made uſe of to fiſh what they can out of the Priſoner againſt himſelf and his Friends, rather than any thing elſe.

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The Priſoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, who are not ſuffered to know any thing more of his Accuſers, and of the Witneſſes againſt him, than he himſelf knows; he is asked by them whether he would have any Queſtions put by the Inquiſitors to thoſe that have informed and witneſſed againſt him, or would have them examined upon any Points: And in caſe the Priſoner furniſheth his Advocate with any ſuch Queſtions or Points, they are put by him into Form, and delivered to the Inquiſitors.

The Priſoner is asked alſo whether he has any Witneſſes of his Orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are ſent for, and heard by the Inquiſitors. And as theſe Witneſſes do go to the Inquiſition with trembling Hearts, ſo they are extremely cautious, not to ſay any thing concerning the Priſoner, that ſhall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themſelves under a Suſpicion of Hereſy. And by the Laws of the Inquiſition, no Relation of the Priſoners within the fourth Degree can be a Witneſs for him. When the Priſoners Advocate and Proctor are diſmiſſed, they take an Oath that they have no Copy of the Defence the Priſoner made for himſelf, and that they will never ſpeak of it to any Perſon whatever, neither is the Priſoner ever ſuffered to ſee the

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Depositions of his own fearful Witnesses, no more than the Depositions of those that are against him.

Beside the fore-mentioned, there is another common Process in the Inquisition, which is against those that have murder'd themselves, or died a natural Death in their Prisons. The Process against the first is short; A Prisoner's having murdered himself being judged such an Evidence of his Guilt, as is sufficient to convict him of the Heresies wherewith he was charged. The Process against the second is carry'd on by the Advocate Fiscal in the same manner as it would have been, had the Prisoner been alive, and the Prisoner's Relations and Friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in Defence of the Deceased, are by a publick Edict summon'd to appear before the Inquisitors within forty Days, to give their Evidence; and if upon this Summons none do appear to offer any thing in Vindication of the Deceased, as I believe few are ever so hardy as to do that, the Deceased, after the Expiration of that Term of Days, is acquitted, or condemned, in the same manner that he would have been had he been alive. And if he is condemned, his whole Estate is forfeited, and his Body and Effigies are burnt at the next Act of the Faith, as are the Bodies and Effigies of those that have murdered themselves. But

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But the Power of the Inquisition extends not only to those that died in its Prisons, but to the Bodies, Estates and good Names of all, that, after their Decease, shall be convicted of having died Hereticks. And tho as to the Estates of those that are convicted of having dy'd Hereticks, they can go no farther than forty Years, as to the taking of their Bones out of their Graves and burning them, and the depriving them of their good Name, there is no Limitation of Time.

When a competent number of Prisoners are convicted of Heresy, either by their own voluntary, or extorted Confession, or upon the Evidence of certain Witnesses, a Day is fix'd by the chief Inquisitor for a Jayl-delivery, which is called by them, an Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the Morning of the Day the Prisoners are all brought into a great Hall, where they have the Habits put on they are to wear in the Procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about 9 of the Clock in the Morning.

The first in the Procession are the *Dominican* Fryars, who carry the Standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their Founder, *Dominic*'s Picture, and on the other side the Cross, betwixt an Olive Tree and a Sword, with this Motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*: Next after the *Dominicans*

come the Penitents, some with *Benitoes*, and some without, according to the nature of their Crimes. They are all in black Coats without Sleeves, and barefooted, with a Wax Candle in their hands. Next come the Penitents who have narrowly escap'd being Burnt, who over their black Coat have Flames painted, with their Points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by Fire. This Habit is call'd by the *Portugueze*, *Feugo revolto*, or Flames turned up side down. Next come the Negative and Relapsed that are to be Burnt, with Flames upon their Habit, pointing upwards, and next come those who profess Doctrines contrary to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, and who besides Flames on their Habit pointing upward, have their Picture, which is drawn two or three days before upon their Breasts, with Dogs, Serpents, and Devils, all with open Mouths painted about it.

Pegna, a Famous *Spanish* Inquisitor, calls this Procession, *Horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum*, and so it is in truth, there being something in the Looks of all the Prisoners, besides those that are to be Burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate, beyond what can be imagined; and in the Eyes and Countenance of those that are to be Burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The Prisoners that are to be Burnt alive, besides

beſides a Familiar, which all the reſt have, have a Jeſuit on each hand of them, who are continually preaching to them, to abjure their Hereſies; but if they offer to ſpeak any thing in defence of the Doctrines they are going to ſuffer Death for profeſſing, they are immediately gagg'd, and not ſuffer'd to ſpeak a Word more.

This I ſaw done to a Priſoner, preſently after he came out of the Gates of the Inquiſition, upon his having look'd up to the Sun, which he had not ſeen before in ſeveral Years, and cry'd out in a Rapture; *How is it poſſible for People that behold that glorious Body, to worſhip any Being but him that created it?* After the Priſoners comes a Troop of *Familiars* on Horſeback, and after them the Inquiſitors, and other Officers of the Court upon Mules; and laſt of all comes the *Inquiſitor General* upon a White Horſe, led by 2 Men, with a black Hat, and a green Hatband, and attended by all the Nobles, that are not employ'd as *Familiars* in the Proceſſion.

In the *Terreiro de Paco* (which may be as far from the Inquiſition as *White-hall* is from *Temple-bar*) there is a Scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thouſand People; at the one end ſit the *Inquiſitors*, and at the other end the Priſoners, and in the ſame order as they walked in the Proceſſion, thoſe that are to be burnt, being ſeated on the higheſt

highest Benches behind the rest, which may be ten Foot above the Floor of the *Scaffold*.

After some Prayers, and a Sermon, which is made up of Encomiums of the Inquisition, and Invectives against Heretick, a Secular Priest ascends a Desk, which stands near the middle of the Scaffold, who having first taken all the Abjurations of the Penitents who kneel before him, one by one in the same Order they walked in the Procession, at last recites the final Sentence of the Inquisition upon those that are to be put to Death, in the Words following:

'WE, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity, having, with the Concurrence of the most Illustrious *N.* Lord Archbishop of *Lisbon*, or of his Deputy, *N.* called on the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Glorious Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, and sitting on our Tribunal, and Judging, with the Holy Gospels lying before us, that so our Judgment may be, in the sight of God, and our Eyes may behold what is just in all Matters betwixt the Magnifick Doctor *N.* Advocate Fiscal on the one part, and you, *N.* now before us, on the other, we have Ordained, that in this place, and on this day you should receive your definitive Sentence;

'We do therefore by this our Sentence put in

'in Writing, define, pronounce, declare, and 'sentence thee, *N.* of the City of *Lisbon*, to be *a Convicted, Confessing, Affirmative, and Professed Heretick, and to be deliver'd, and left by us as such, to the Secular Arm: and we by this our Sentence, do cast thee out of the Ecclesiastical Court, as a Convicted, Confessing, Affirmative and Professed Heretick, and we do leave and deliver thee to the Secular Arm, and to the Power of the Secular Court; but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that Court so to moderate its Sentence, as not to touch thy Blood, or to put thy Life in any danger.*

Is there in all History, an Instance of so grosse and confident a Mockery of God, and the World, as this of the Inquisitors earnestly beseeching the Civil Magistrates not to put the Hereticks they have condemned, and delivered to them, to death? For were they in earnest when they make this Solemn Petition to the Secular Magistrates, why do they bring their Prisoners out of the Inquisition, and deliver them to those Magistrates, in Coats painted over with Flames? why do they teach, that Hereticks, above all other Malefactors, ought to be punished with Death? And why do they never resent the Secular Magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joynt Petition, as never to fail to Burn all the Hereticks which are delivered to 'em

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by the Inquisition, within an Hour or two after they have them in their hands? And why in *Rome*, where the Supreme, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Authority are lodged in the same Person, is this Petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old Canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the Blood of any Person whatsoever, would be a much less Dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on, observing that Canon, by making a Petition which is known to be so contrary to their Principles and Desires.

The Prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with Chains, before the Eyes of the Inquisitors, and being carried first to the Secular Goal, are within an Hour or two brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice, who, without knowing any thing of their particular Crimes, or of the Evidence that was against them, asks 'em one by one, *In what Religion they do intend to die?* If they answer, that they will die in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, they are condemned by him, *To be carried forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes.* But if they say, *They will die in the Protestant*, or

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in any other Faith that is contrary to the *Roman*, they are then ſentenced by him, *To be carry'd forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be burnt alive.*

At the place of Execution, which at *Liſbon* is the *Ribera*, there are ſo many Stakes ſet up as there are Priſoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry Furz about them. *The Stakes of the Profeſs'd*, as the Inquiſitors call them, may be about four Yards high, and have a ſmall Board whereon the Priſoner is to be ſeated, within half a Yard of their top. The Negative and Relapſed being firſt ſtrangled and burnt, the Profeſt go up a Ladder betwixt the two Jeſuits which have attended them all day; and when they are come even with the forementioned Board, they turn about to the People, and the Jeſuits ſpend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the *Profeſt* to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; which if they refuſe to be, the Jeſuits come down, and the Executioner aſcends, and having turn'd the *Profeſt* off the Ladder upon the Seat, and chained their Bodies cloſe to the Stake, he leaves them, and the Jeſuits go up to them a ſecond time, to renew their Exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, *That they leave them to the Devil, who is ſtanding at their Elbow to receive their Souls, and carry them with him into the Flames of Hell.*

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Hell-Fire, so soon as they are out of their Bodies. Upon this a great Shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the Ladders, the cry is, *Let the Dog's Beards, Let the Dog's Beards be* * *made*; which is done by thrusting flaming Furzes fastened to a long Pole against their Faces. And this Inhumanity is commonly continued until their Faces are burnt to a Coal, and is always accompanied with such loud Acclamations of Joy as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a Bull-Feast, or a Farce being dull Entertainments to the using of a profess'd *Heretick* thus inhumanely.

The *Profest's Beards having been thus made*, or trim'd, as they call it in jollity, Fire is set to the Furz which are at the bottom of the Stake, and above which the *Profest* are chained so high, that the top of the Flame seldom reacheth higher than the Seat they sit upon; and if there happen to be a Wind (to which that Place is much exposed) it seldom reacheth so high as their Knees: So that though if there be a Calm, the *Profest* are commonly dead in about half an hour after the Furz is set on fire; yet if the Weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half, or 2 Hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to Death. But tho out of

* Fazer *is their Word for Trimming.*

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Hell there cannot possibly be a more lamentable Spectacle than this, being joined with the Sufferers (so long as they are able to speak) crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios, Mercy for the Love of God*; yet it is beheld by People of both Sexes, and of all Ages, with such Transports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

And that the Reader may not think that this inhumane Joy may be the Effect of an actual Cruelty that is in those Peoples disposition, and not of the Spirit of their Religion, he may rest assured, that all publick Malefactors, besides Hereticks, have their violent Deaths no where more tenderly lamented, than among the same People, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their Deaths that appears inhumane or cruel.

Within a few Days after the Execution, the *Pictures* of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their Breasts when they were brought to the Stake, are hung up in St. *Domingo*'s Church, whose West End, tho very high, is all covered over with these Trophies of the Inquisition hung up there in honour to *Dominic*, who, to fulfil his Mother's Dream, was the first Inventor of that Court; *Dominic*'s Mother, when she was ready to be brought to Bed of him, having dream'd that she was delivered not of a humane Creature, but of a fierce Dog, with a burning Torch in his Mouth.

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LIST

Of the Persons who received their Sentences in the Act of the *Faith*, celebrated in the City of *Lisbon*, on the 10th of *May*, 1682.

Men that died in the Prisons, and were absolved.

Ages. Punishments.

Diogo de Chaves, a new Christian, a Farmer of the Revenue, and a professed Knight of a certain military Order, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Simaon Roiz Chaves, a new Christian, a Man of Business, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

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Ages. Punishments.

Antonio Nunes de Royga, a new Christian, a Batchelor, a professed Knight of a certain military Order, the Son of *Sebastiaon Nunes de Lisboa*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Bernardo de Souza, who was of no Calling, a Native of the Town of *Montemor velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*, and Inhabitant of this City.

Lewis de Silva de Menezes, part of a New Christian, who lived upon his Estate, a Native of the City of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Aveiro*.

Manoel da Costa, a New Christian, a Merchant and Native of the City of *Leyria*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.

Persons

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Perſons who did not abjure.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
54.	*Antonio Pereire*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Chaſim*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having ſwore falſly before the Tribunal of the *Holy Office*, in Matters of the *Faith*.	3 *Years at* Caſtro Marim.
75.	*Simaon Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured *de vehemente*, for the Crimes of *Judaiſm*, in an *Act of the Faith*, celebrated therein in the Year 1656. Impriſoned a ſecond time for having relapſed into the ſame.	5 *Years in* Braſil.

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Ages.		Punishments.
26.	*Manoel Dos Santos Annes*, who has no Calling, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Santarem*, for having feigned himself a Familiar of the *Holy Office*, and in the Name of the said Tribunal, testify'd the clearness of the Blood of certain Persons, having accepted of Money from some for the said Effect.	
	For Sodomy.	
30.	*Salvador Veira*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Amoro*, in the County of the Town of *Almada*, *Negative*.	5 *Years in* Brasil.
18.	*Antonio de Olivero*, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Olivero*, who was a Wine-Merchant in the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth and was the Patient.	*To be Whipped, and to be Three Years in the Gallies.*

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Ages.	Punishments.
20. *Manoel Baijaon*, a Carpenter, a Batchelor, the Son of *Mainoel Roiz*, a Carrier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient.	*Ibid.*
23. *Domingo Lopez*, a Batchelor, and Footman, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, a Labourer, Native of the Parish of St. *Pedro di Addit*, in the County and Village of *Guiemoraon*, Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and the Patient.	*The same, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*
19. *Joseph Gomez*, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Miguel Gomez*, Native of the Parish of *Silleiro*, in the County of *Gnimarains*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient.	*The same, and 10 Years in the Gallies.*

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Ages.	Punishments.
37. *Manoel Machado Negueira*, a Batchelor, a Schoolmaster of Children, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Porlodemos*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Agent.	*The same, and* 10 *Years in the Gallies.*

Abjuration de Leve.

45. *Antonio Laurenco de Almaida*, a Soldier of the Regiment of *Algarves*; Native of the City of *Faro*, and Inhabitant of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brasil*, for having married twice, his first Wife being alive.	*Prison, during Pleasure, Whipping, and* 5 *Years in the Gallies.*
Francisco Antunes, a Labourer of the Village of *Fernaon Foam*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of *Rapoila*, of the said Bishoprick, for the said Fault.	*The same.*

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Ages.	Puniſhments.
34. *Joan de Conto Toledo*, who has no Calling, Native of the Town of *Praya*, in the Iſland of *Tercera*, and Inhabitant of *Sanctos*, under the Government of the *Rio de Janeico*, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame.*
35. *Manoel Nunes*, a Taylor, Native of the Village of *Quintaon dos Gallegos*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of the Hamlet of *Mauracaon*, of the ſaid City, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame.*
46. *Manoel Jorge*, a Seaman, Native of the Iſland of *Pico*, and Inhabitant of this City, for the ſame Fault.	*The ſame.*
37. *Manoel de Almeyda*, a Taylor, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Cadafaon* in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, for the ſaid Fault.	*The ſame, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
43.	*Alvaro Colaco*, a Batchelor, who had been a Soldier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Lourinhan*, who, as it is presumed, did deny the Faith, and go over to the Sect of the *Moors*.	*Prison during Pleasure, and 3 Years in the Gallies.*
	Abjuration de vehemente.	
30.	*Manoel dos Anjos*, an *Old Christian*, a Batchelor, and has no Calling, the Son of *Matheus Correa*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Alagoada*, in the Island of *Gracioza*, for having taken some consecrated Crumbs out of the Sacrary of a certain Church.	*The same, and to be Whipped, and be 3 Years in the Gallies.*
36.	*Manoel Joan*, a Batchelor, and Barber, the Son of *Francisco Joan*, a Labourer, Native of the City of St. *Luis*, in the State of *Marignaon*, for the faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil.	*The same.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
32.	*Agostino Ruiz de Oliviero*, a Painter, Native of this City, and Inhabitant of *Torresnoves*, for having spoke Heretical, Rash, Scandalous, Injurious, and to Pious Hearers, offensive Propositions, against our Lord and his most Holy Images.	*The same, and Three Years in the Gallies.*
55.	*Joan Vas*, a Batchelor, who had been a Soldier, the Son of *Simaon Vas*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Abrantes*, for the said Fault.	*The same, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

Abjuration for Judaism de vehemente.

Ages.		Punishments.
51.	*Luis de Mattos Couto*, a *New Christian*, who lived upon his own Estate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brasil.*	*Prison during pleasure.*

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Ages.	Punishments.
57. *Pedro Roiz da Maya*, a new Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
48. *Jasper Francisco*, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
62. *Estavaon da par Moreno*, a new Christian who lived on his own Estate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alcacere*.	*The same.*
45. *Pedro Cardozo*, a New Christian, a Skinner, a Batchelor, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town.	*The same.*
42. *Vasco Francisco Azietado*, a New Christian, who was a Soldier, the Son of *Benjamin Gomes Azeitado*, who was a Judge, Native of the Town of *Vidiguoira*, and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
33. *Vincente de Seixas*, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Seixas* an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alchacere*.	*The same.*

67.

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Ages.		Puniſhments.
67.	*Manoel Paiz de Souza*, a New Chriſtian, the Son of *Manoel Lopez Paiz*, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the ſaid Town.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Franciſco de Almeida Negraon*, a New Chriſtian, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Pedrenero*, for the ſame Fault of *Judaiſm*, and for having ſpoke Propoſitions with an Heretical Obſtinacy after he had been reproved for 'em.	*The ſame, and Three Years in* Braſil.
52.	*Manoel Lopes de Leon*, a New Chriſtian, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Tomar*, and an Inhabitant in this City, for the ſame Fault of *Judaiſm*, and for having, when he was in the Priſon, had communication with Perſons abroad.	*The ſame, and Two Years in* Algarve.

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A Person who wore the Habit, but did not Abjure.

Ages.		Punishments.
48.	*Joan Alexia*, a *New Christian* a Merchant, Native of *Montemor*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, an Inhabitant in *Sevil*, and Resident in this City, reconciled by the *Church of Sevil*, in the Year 1672, for the Faults of *Judaism*; and imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.	*Prison and Habit perpetual, without remission, and 5 Years in Brasil.*

The Reason of this Person's not having Abjured, was, because he was taken up for having relapsed, and so must have died without Mercy, had he been convicted.

Abjuration in Forma for *Judaism.*

32.	*Diego Lopes Fernaon*, a New Christian, a Scrivener, Notary, and Inhabitant of the Village of *Fradaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*Prison during pleasure, and the Habit, which shall be taken off in the* Act of Faith.

48.

Ages.	Punishments.
48. *Martos Mendes*, a New Christian, a Smith, Native of the Town of *Desdanha a Nova*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.	*The same.*
52. *Francisco Mendes*, a New Christian, a Shoemaker, Native of the Town of *Benamaron*, an Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the said Town.	*The same.*
28. *Mathias Roiz*, a *New Christian*, a Merchant, Native, and Inhabitant of *Villa Real*, in the Archbishoprick of *Braga*.	*The same.*
44. *Antonio Lopes Arroyijo*, a New Christian, and Tobacco-Merchant, Native of the Town of *Chasim*, and Inhabitant of *Carrazedo Montenegro*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Chaves*, in the Archbishoprick of *Braga*, who Abjured *de Leve* for the Fault of *Judaism*, in an Act of the Faith celebrated in the City of *Sancti-*	*The same, and Habit during Pleasure.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
	ago, in the Year 1662, Imprison'd the second time for having been defective, and for a Relapse into the same.	
25.	*Manoel Lopez*, a New Christian, a Carrier, a Batchelor, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, an Inn-keeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Arogolos* in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*.	*The same.*
62.	*Joan de Santa Maria*, a *Moor* by Nation, the Son of *Maca*, a Native of *Salle*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having returned to the *Sect of Mahomet* after he was baptiz'd a Christian.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*
	A Second Abjuration.	
31.	*Bernardo Sequeira*, part of a New Christian, a Barber, Native of the City of *Lamego*, and Inhabitant of the City *Porto*.	*The same.*
30.	*Joan de Crus*, a New Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

68.

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Ages.		Punishments.
68.	*Pedro Alvares de Moras*, half a New Christian, a Chirurgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Elvas*.	*The same, and 2 Years in* Crastemain.
35.	*Domingo Cardozo*, part of a New Christian, an Officer of the *Chancery*, a Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Lamego*.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*
54.	*Gabriel Gomes*, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*.	*The same.*
49.	*Luis de Bulaon*, half a New Christian, an Officer in the *Court of the Crown*; a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
	The Third Abjuration.	
41.	*Ayres Roiz*, a New Christian, a Practitioner and Native of the City of *Guarda*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.	*The same.*
69.	*Fernaon Roiz Penco*, a *New Christian*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native of the City of *Badayos*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

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Ages.	Punishments.
33. *Luis Serraon*, more than half a New Christian, a Batchelor, a Student in Divinity, the Son of *Antonio Serraon de Crasto*, a New Christian, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	The same.
35. *Laurence de Costa*, half a New Christian, a Dealer in Horses, the natural Son of *Martin de Costa*, a Farmer of the Revenues, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	The same.
48. *Manoel Carralho*, half a new Christian, who lived by his Practice, Native of the Town of *Cavalhaon*, in the Hundred of the City of *Guarda*, an Inhabitant of this City.	The same.
39. *Francisco Roiz Mogadouro*, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	The same.

The

The Fourth Abjuration.

Ages.		Punishments.
72.	*Antonio Serraon de Crasto*, a New Christian, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
29.	*Puntaleon Roiz Mogadouro*, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who did profess the Law of *Moses*.	*The same, and to be confined to a Convent.*
45.	*Pedro Duarte Ferraon*, the fourth part of a new Christian, an Officer in the King's Bench, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*Prison and Habit without remission.*
	Joseph Francisco, nick-named, *Barraon*, Batchelor, and Shepherd, the Son of *Domingo Francisco Vugado*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Azambuija*, for the Crime of Witchcraft, and for having made a Covenant with the Devil.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit, and 5 Years in the Gallies, and to be whipped.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
53.	*Miguel da Cunha*, half a New Christian, a Shop-keeper, a Native of the Village of *Alcaides*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, Inhabitant of the said Village.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*

A Person that did not Abjure, and wears the Habit.

Ages.		Punishments.
68.	*Henrique Nunes Salvador*, a New Christian, who was a Merchant, a Native of *Colminar el Vigo*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant of *Villa Flor*, who was reconciled by the Inquisition of *Conimbra*, in the Year 1652. having been twice since imprisoned for having been defective, *i. e.* in his Confession, and for the faults of a Relapse.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit, without remission, 3 Years in* Crasto Marim, *with the Ensigns of Fire.*

Women

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Women that died in the Priſons, and were Abſolued.

Ages.		Puniſhments.
	Anna Lopez de Barros, a New Chriſtian, the Widow of *Manoel de Medina*, a Native of the Town of *Marchola*, and Inhabitant of this City.	
	Izabel da Coſta, a New Chriſtian, the Widow of *Simaon Lopez Torrez*, an Advocate, a Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of the Village of *Sacavom*, in the Hundred of this City.	

Perſons who did not Abjure.

27.	*Anna Roiz*, nick-named *a Toupa*, Married with *Manoel Roiz* a Carter, a Native and Inhabitant of *Abrantes*, for having feigned Viſions, and for Preſumptions of her having had a Covenant with the Devil.	3 *Years to* Craſto Marim.

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Ages.		Punishments.
46.	*Magdalena da Cruz*, the Wife of *Augustino Nunes*, who was *Alcaide* of the secret Prisons of this Inquisition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for having co-operated to corrupt certain Officers of the Holy Office to give intelligence to Persons in the Prisons, and to receive Answers from them to Persons that were abroad.	5 *Years in* Brasil.
58.	*Juliana Pereira*, marry'd with *Francisco de Matos*, a Surgeon, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for having disordered the just regiment of the Holy Office, in having by Bribes corrupted a certain Officer of the said *Tribunal*, to reveal the Secrets thereof, to know the State of some of the Prisoners Affairs.	5 *Years in* Angola.

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Ages.		Punishments.
79.	*Catherina Antonia*, who has some part of a New Christian, the Widow of *Christovan Roiz*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Buarcos*, reconciled by the Inquisition of *Conimbra*, in the Year 1639, imprisoned the second time for the Faults of a Relapse into *Judaism*. *Abjuration* de Leve.	
28.	*Joanna Da Paz*, who has three fourths of a New Christian, married with *Joseph Pessoa* a Merchant, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of *Judaism*, and for having co-operated in the corruption of a certain Officer of the Holy Office.	*Prison during pleasure, and 2 Years in the* Algarves.
48.	*Catherina Baratta*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio de Crasto*, a Native of *Villa Franca*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the faults of Witchcraft.	*The same, and to be whipp'd, and* 4 *Years in* Brasil.

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Ages.	Punishments.
30. *Ursula Maria*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Francisco de Salhas*, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Alhas Vedros*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the same Fault.	*The same, and five Years in* Brasil.
41. *Maria Pinheira*, married with *Goncalo da Gama Volante*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault.	*The same.*

A Person who wears the Habit, but does not Abjure.

Maria Cardoza, part of a New Christian, the Widow of *Joan Mendes*, a Taylor, a Native and Inhabitant of *Montemor novo*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*; reconciled by the Inquisition of the said City, for *Judaism*, in the Year 1667. imprisoned a second time for having been defective in her Confession.

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An Abjuration in forma *for* Judaism.

Ages.		Punishments.
22.	*Maria Gonsalvez*, nick-named *Amarintha*, part of a New Christian, the Daughter of *Joan Francisco*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Majorca*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Montemoro velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*.	*Prison during pleasure, and the Habit, which she is to take off in the Act.*
35.	*Leonor Mendes*, a New Christian, married with *Marcos Mendes Ferron*, who is in the List, Native of *Idanha a nova*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*.	*The same. Prison and Habit during pleasure.*
62.	*Joanna da Paz*, more than half a New Christian, married with *Diogo Ramos*, a Native of the City of *Samora*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
55.	*Catarina da Costa*, a New Christian, married with *Francisco da Rocha*, an Attorney, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
23.	*Anna Mapoela*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Jean Lopes Cardozo*, a Merchant, Native of the Village of *Berim*, in the Kingdom of *Gallicia*, and Inhabitant in *Chares*.	*The same.*
23.	*Maria de Souza Chares*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Salvador de Souza*, a Salt-merchant, Native of St. *Jago*, in the Kingdom of *Gallitia*, and an Inhabitant in *Chares*.	*The same.*

The Second Abjuration.

57.	*Anna Roiz*, a New Christian, the Widow of *Pedro Alecia*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Bonaventure*, in the Bishoprick of *Samorra*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant of *Chares*.	*The same.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
25.	*Izabel Borges*, the fourth part of a New Christian, the Daughter of *Manoel Roiz*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemorononoro*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*.	*The same.*
42.	*Anna Maria de Souza*, a *new Christian*, Married with *George Coelho*, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*
64.	*Catherina de Crasto*, a new Christian, the Widow of *Domingos da Silva*, Native of *Sevil* in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
49.	*Guiomar Henriques*, a New Christian, Married with *Miguel da Cunha*, who is in the List a Farmer of *Talucco*, Native of the Village of *Alzaide*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the said Town.	*The same.*

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Ages.	Punishments.
45. *Gracia de Lima*, Married with *Manoel Nunes*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*.	*The same.*

The Third Abjuration.

22. *Izabel Maria*, half a New Christian, Married with *Raphael da Silva*, who lived by his Practice, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, an Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*
40. *Violante Henriques*, a New Christian, the Widow of *Miguel Henriques* a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*The same.*
53. *Brittes Rebella*, part of a New Christian, Married with *Manoel das Nevas* a Surgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemoro novo*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*.	*The same.*

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Ages.		Puniſhments.
59.	*Iſabel Roiz*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Luis Nunez*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Maijorca*, in the Biſhoprick of *Conimbra*.	*The ſame.*
27.	*Maria Semeda*, part of a *New Chriſtian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Matheus Semeda*, a Notary, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Portalegre*.	*The ſame.*
42.	*Maria Nunes da Coſta*, a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Ayres Roiz*, who is in the Liſt, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
55.	*Franciſca Serraon*, half a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Luis de Bulhaon*, a Phyſician, Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The ſame.*
	The Fourth Abjuration.	
66.	*Izabel Henriquez*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Simon de Souza*, a Merchant, Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*.	*The ſame.*

42.

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Ages.		Punishments.
42.	*Anna Pessoa*, a *New Christian*, married with *Manoel Lopez de Leon*, a Merchant, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Crime of having co-operated in the Corruption of a certain Officer in the *Holy Office*.	*The same, and 2 Years in* Algarves.

This poor Woman's Crime was, That she bribed an Officer of the Inquisition to conveigh a Letter to her Husband, after he had been a Prisoner in it above 8 Years.

70.	*Ignes Luiza*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Pedro Alexio*, a Merchant, Native of the Town of *Alvito*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, an Inhabitant in this City.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission.*
27.	*Ignes Pastana*, the fourth part of a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Laurenco Pastana*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same.*

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Ages.		Punishments.
32.	*Constantina Navarra*, a *New Christian*, married with *Joseph Roiz*, a Goldsmith, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
26.	*Brittees Henriques*, a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Roiz Magadanro*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, who professed the Law of *Moses*.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit, and reclusion in a Religious House.*

This Gentlewoman had been 10 Years a Prisoner in the Inquisition, and so must not have been above 16 when she was taken up; she was so rack'd in it, that she was quite cripled.

72.	*Paula da Costa*, half a *New Christian*, married with *Antonio Duarte*, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit, and* 3 *Years in* Brasil.

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Ages.	Punishments.
27. *Thereza Maria de Jesus*, more than half a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	*The same, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Years in* Brasil.

Women that died in the Prisons, and were received.

Ages.	Punishments.
Ignes Duarte, half a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	
Isabel do Valle, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Diogo Roxes*, a Native of the Village of *Berim* in *Castile*, and Inhabitant of *Villaron*, in the Hundred of *Chaves*.	

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The Perſons delivered to the Secular Arm.

Ages.	Puniſhments.
43. *Gaſpar Lopez Pereire*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Batchelor, the Son of *Franciſco Lopez Pereire*, a Native of the Town of *Mogadouro*, an Inhabitant of *Madrid*, and Reſident in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confeſſing, affirmative, profeſſing the Law of *Moſes*, Obſtinate, and Impenitent.	
33. *Antonio de Aguiar*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, a Native of *Lamilunilla*, near to *Madrid*, an Inhabitant of *Sevil*, and Reſident in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confeſſing, affirmative, profeſſing the Law of *Moſes*, Obſtinate, Impenitent.	

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Ages.	Punishments.
42. *Miguel Henriques da Fonseca*, a *New Christian*, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Avios*, an Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of *Moses*, Obstinate, Impenitent.	

These three were burnt alive, within two Hours after the Inquisitors had delivered them to the *Secular Arm*.

32. *Pedro Serraon*, more than half a *New Christian*, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, Negative, and Obstinate.	

This last was first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes with the other Three.

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A

LIST

Of the Prisoners, and of their Condemnations and Sentences, who were in the Publick Act of the Faith, celebrated by the Inquisition, in this City of *Lisbon*, on Sunday the 6th of *November*, 1707. Consisting of above Threescore Men and Women.

With some NOTES upon it.

The Most Illustrious Lord Bishop, Nuno D'acunha, De Ataide, *Counsellour of State, and Dean of his Majesty's Chappel, being Inquisitor-General.*

A Person who died in Prison, and was absolv'd.

Nº.	Ages.	*MEN.*	Punishments.
1.	30.	*Miguel Lopes Montezinos*, a *New Christian*, a Merchant,	

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N°	Ages.		Punishments.
		a Batchelor, the Son of *Rodrigo Lopez Montezinos*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City; originally of the Kingdom of *Castile.*	

The *Portugueſe* Inquiſitors, to be reveng'd on the *Caſtilians*, for calling their Countrymen, *Jews*, among other opprobrious Names, where-ever they can have the leaſt Colour for it, do never fail in their printed Liſts of Acts of the Faith, to put down their *Jewiſh* Priſoners, *Caſtilians*; as this Priſoner is here ſaid to have been originally, who was born, and had lived all his Days in the City of *Lisbon.*

An Abjuration de Levi.

2.	40.	*Antonio Goncales Cazeiro*, the Son of *Bartholomew Goncales Cazeiro*, a Labourer, Native of *Ribeyra Douca*, of the Village of *Senharis*, in the Pariſh of our Lady of *Roſario*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of	*To be whipt and to be 5 Years in the Gallies.*

Chares,

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N° Ages.		Punishments.
	Chares, in the Archbishoprick of *Braga*, Inhabitant in the Town of *Ares*, in the Bishoprick of *Portalegre*, Resident in *Abrantes*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*; for marrying a second time, his First and Lawful Wife being alive.	

This Man was made to abjure, because he might possibly believe that it was lawful to have more Wives than one; which is a *Judaical* and *Mahometan* Doctrine.

3.	25.	*Francisco Lopes de Sylva*, a Shoemaker, the Natural Son of *Francisco Lopes de Sylva*, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *Santaven*, in this Archbishoprick, for having used a Purse to render himself invulnerable, and on Presumption of his having made a Compact with the Devil, and for the	*To be whipp'd, & to be Ten Years in the Gallies.*

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N°	Ages.	Punishments.
	Crime of Sodomy, in which he was the Agent; and for having tamper'd with Witnesses in the Affairs of the Inquisition, making 'em to tell him what they had deposed in it.	

How invulnerable soever this Prisoner might be as to all other wounding Engines and Instruments, I doubt whether he was Rack-proof when the Experiment was try'd upon him in the Inquisition, as it infallibly was, upon his denying he was in a Compact with the Devil, when the Inquisitors, as they tell us, had Presumptions of it; of which Presumptions, his having endeavoured to fish out the Secrets of the Inquisition, might be the chief, if it was not the only one. For it is the common Policy of the Inquisitors to make the World believe, that none that have not given themselves Soul and Body entirely up to the Devil, can be guilty of doing any thing to the Prejudice of the establish'd Rules of the Inquisition, particularly of the fundamental Rule, Of not suffering their Prisoners to know any thing of their Accusers, or of the Witnesses against them, or of the par-

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particular Faults they ſtand charged with, always blackening their Priſoners on purpoſe, that none may pity them, let their Puniſhments be never ſo ſevere. For tho a publick Whipping, and 10 Years in the Gallies, might have been thought too great a Puniſhment, for one's deſiring to know what his Accuſer had ſworn againſt him, it could not be thought ſo for Sodomy and a Compact with the Devil.

A Perſon that neither Abjured, nor wears the Habit.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
4.	69.	*Gaſper Lopes Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, a Phyſician, Native of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, Inhabitant in this City; who was reconciled by this Inquiſition for the Faults of *Judaiſm*, on the 14th of *December*, 1667. Impriſoned a ſecond time, for a Relapſe into the ſame Faults.	*Perpetual Priſon.*

This Relapſe was not proved; for if it had, the Priſoner had been burnt without Mercy; for the Inquiſition never pardons

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a ſecond time, let the Relapſed be never ſo Penitent; and its firſt Pardon extends only to Life, and ſometimes to Liberty, but never to Eſtate.

An Abjuration de Vehemente *for* Judaiſm.

Nº	Ages.		Puniſhments.
5.	27.	*Gaſper Mendes Caſtanha*, half a *New Chriſtian*, a Merchant, Native of the Town of *Meceiana*, in the Diſtrict of *Campo de Ourique*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Erora*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*Priſon during Pleaſure.*

This Priſoner is ſaid to be half a *New Chriſtian*, becauſe either his Father, or his Mother, was not of the *Jewiſh* Race.

6.	36.	*Diogo Mendes Sola*, Part of a *New Chriſtian*, a Captain of Horſe, Native of the Town of *Trancozo*, in the Biſhoprick of *Viſeu*, Inhabitant in the City of *Lamego*; upon Duty in this City.	*The ſame.*

No

No Quality nor Post can privilege any Person from being taken up by the Inquisition, and detained in it.

A Person who did not Abjure, but must bear the Habit.

N°	Ages.		Punishments.
7.	42.	*Joan Rodriguez Ferreira*, half a *New Christian*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Estremos*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant in the City of *Leyria*, who was Reconciled by this Inquisition, for the Faults of *Judaism*, in the publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, *October* 20, 1704. Imprisoned a second time, for a Diminution of the same Faults.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*

Note, That a Diminution, as they call it, of the same Fault, is, when a Person that has been let out of the Prisons of the Inquisition, is afterwards accus'd of some Heretical Words or Actions, which he or she had not mention'd in the Confession they made of their Heresies.

This

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This Habit is the *St. Benito*; which is a black Caſſock, with two large Yellow St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes upon it, one upon the Breaſt, and the other upon the Shoulders.

The firſt Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
8.	42.	*Manoel Mendes Henriques*, nicknamed *Monteburro*; a *New Chriſtian*, a Spice Merchant; Native and Inhabitant in the City of *Guarda*.	*Priſon during Pleaſure, and the Habit, which ſhall be Taken off in the Act of the Faith.*

All that do Abjure *in Forma* having confeſſed that they were Hereticks, do go in the Proceſſion of the Act of the Faith, clothed with a St. *Benito*, and with a Wax Candle in their Hand: And though for the firſt Fault they are pardoned, as to their Lives, and ſometimes as to their Liberty; neither their Eſtate, nor any part of it, is ever reſtored to them by the Fiſcal, to whom it was all committed, as faſt as it could be found, after the Priſoners were apprehended by a Familiar.

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N.	Ages.		Punishments.
9.	27.	*Manoel de Santiago*, a Joiner, a Batchelor, the Son of *Alexandre Perei'ra*, a Silver-Smith, Native of the City of *Bragança*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Vimioso*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, Resident in this City.	*The same.*
10.	30.	*Manoel Mendes Brandon*, a *New Christian*, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Mogadouro*, and Inhabitant in *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*Prison and Habit during Pleasure.*
11.	19.	*Joseph Christovaon da Costa*, a *New Christian*, a Spice-Merchant, a Batchelor; the Son of *Francisco Manoel Delgado*, a Farmer of the Revenue, Native of this City, and Inhabitant in *Leyria*.	*The same.*

12.

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
12.	38.	*Dionisio Pimentel*, a *New Christian*, a Broker, Native of the City of *Braganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*

The Second Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaism.

13.	38.	*Manoel Pereira Gomes*, a *New Christian*, a Banker, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel Gomes Pereira*, a Confectioner, Native of the City of *Elvas*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Abrantes*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*
14.	50.	*Francisco de Sylveira*, Part of a *New Christian*, who lived upon his Estate, and Agency; Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
15.	46.	*Diogo Feijo Flores*, a *New Christian*, who lived upon his Estate, Native and Inhabitant	*The same.*

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N°	Ages.		Punishments.
		in the Town of *Celorico*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	
16.	27.	*Antonio Lopes de Sylva*, a *New Christian*, of no Trade, a Batchelor, the Son of *Sebastian Dias*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
17.	29.	*Simaon Carvalho Chares*, a *New Christian*, a Farmer, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhaon*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*
18.	25.	*Henrique Hebre da Cruz*, half a *New Christian*, a Shop-keeper, a Batchelor, the Son of *Ignatio Franco*, a Shop-keeper, Native, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*

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The Third Abjuration in Form for Judaism.

N°	Ages.		Punishments.
19.	51.	*Antonio Rodrigues Leal*, part of a *New Christian*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Almeyda*, in the Bishoprick of *Lamego*; and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*
20.	31.	*Lewis Ferreira de Matos*, half a *New Christian*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Estremos*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of that of *Ponta de Mos*, in the Bishoprick of *Leyria*.	*The same.*
21.	38.	*Christovaon de Paz*, a Scrivener in the Wine-Office; a *New Christian*, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*,	*The same.*

and

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Nº	Age.		Punishments.
		and Inhabitant in the Town of *Setuval*, in this Archbishoprick.	
22.	52.	*Antonio Pimentel*, a *New Christian*, a Twister of Silk, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The same.*
23.	47.	*Joan Lopes Castanha*, a New Christian, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Moura*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant in this City, who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaism, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 19th of *October*, 1704. imprisoned a second time upon new Evidence of the same Faults.	*The same.*

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N°	Ages.		Punishments.
24.	29.	Fryar *Luis dos Reys*, a New Christian, a professed Fryar of a certain Religious Order, the Son of *Belchior dos Reys*, a Broker, Native of the City of *Badajos*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*

If this Fryar was a Priest, as it is probable he was, at the Age of Nine and Twenty, and withal was no Christian, (as the Inquisitors say he was not) could he, when he administred the Sacraments, ever intend to do that as a Christian Ordinance? This therefore shews plainly how uncertain all Papists are of their being Christians, according to the Doctrine of their own Church; that the Intention of the Priest that consecrates is necessary to the being of a Sacrament. But whether that was this Fryar's Case or not, it is not yet 40 Years since a Parish-Priest was burnt at *Lisbon*, who confessed, that whenever he administred a Sacrament, he had a formed Intention not to administer it as a Divine Ordinance; upon which all the Children that had been Christened by him

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him, and were alive, were all baptized anew. I was told this by Consul *Maynard*, who saw the Priest burnt in *Lisbon*.

N°	Ages.		Punishments.
25.	35.	*Alvaro Nicholao Nogeura*, part of a New Christian, a Merchant, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel Rodrigues Nogueyra*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Madrid*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*

This Prisoner scaped being burnt narrowly, for not having, till the Vespers of the Act of the Faith, renounced some Heresies he had made a Profession of; or for having deny'd he was ever infected with any Heresy, or for not having hit before, on the particular heretical Words or Actions he was charged with; with which the Inquisitors would not acquaint him, to save him from being burnt, by his confessing of them.

All the forementioned that abjured their Heresies *in Forma*, and were thereupon reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, had their Lives spared, because it was their

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first Fault: But for their Liberty, they still lay for that at the Mercy of the Inquisitors; whose Mercies are cruel, for tho these penitent Prisoners, whilst they are in the Prisons of the Inquisition, have their poor Allowance of Diet out of their Estates, which were all seiz'd on by the Fiscal in the Minute they were apprehended by a Familiar; yet if they are ever got out of these Prisons, let their own and their Families Necessities be never so great and deplorable; they never have one Farthing of their Estates restored to them.

WOMEN.

A Person who neither Abjured, nor wears the Habit.

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
1.	68.	*Anna Nunes Medalha*, the Widow of *Francisco Carvalho Charas*, who was a Farmer, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, who was reconciled by this Inquisition for	*Perpetual Prison.*

the

N°	Ages.		Punishments.
		the Faults of Judaism, on the 23d of *August*, 1683. imprisoned a second time, for a Relapse into the same Faults.	

Abjuration de Vehemente *for* Judaism.

2.	30.	*Brites do Mercado*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Manoel Henriques do Mercado*, a Merchant, Native of the Village of *Coriscado*, in the District of the Town of *Marialva*, in the Bishoprick of *Lamego*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*Prison during Pleasure.*
3.	21.	*Violante Pereyra*, a New Christian; a Virgin, the Daughter of *Diogo Gomes Pereyra*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
4.	33.	*Joana de Lemos*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Manoel Rodrigues Lobo*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*

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Let these young Married Women be kept never so long in the Prisons of the Inquisition, their Husbands, tho never so fond of them, dare not for their Lives express the least Uneasiness at it; nor dare a Parent for a Child, nor a Child for a Parent: Nay, if they do not seem to rejoice at it, as a thing that is for the Benefit of the Prisoners Souls, they will fall under the Suspicion of being Hereticks themselves. This fills all Places where there are Inquisitions, with Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, to the debasing of People's Natures, and cowing of their Spirits. And should the Degeneracy from the Martial Courage of their Ancestors, which is at this time so visible in divers Nations, be imputed to the Inquisition's terrible and mercileſs Persecutions, which are among them, on the account of Religion; I do not believe that the Thought could be justly look'd on as very extravagant.

Persons that do not Abjure, but do wear the Habit.

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
5.	24.	*Dona Michaela Archangela*, half a New Christian, the Wife of *Manoel Ferreira*, a Shop-	*Perpetual Prison and* keeper,

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keeper, Native of the Village of *Setuval*, in this Archbishoprick, and Inhabitant of that of *Sardoal*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, originally of the Kingdom of *Castile*, who was reconciled for the Faults of Judaism, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 12th of *September*, in the Year 1705. imprisoned a second time, for a Diminution of the same Faults.	*Habit without Remission.*

This young Lady being a married Woman, might well be with Child when she was arrested by a Familiar, which is a thing that often happens among Inquisition Prisoners; who being once accused of Heresy, are immediately taken up, and thrown into the Dungeons of the Inquisition, let their Quality be what it will, and let them be never so sick, or weak, or never so near their Time. But this, among all the other Inhumanities of the Inquisitors, is justify'd, by their common Maxim,

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That to ſhew Mercy to the *Bodies* of Perſons accuſed of Hereſy, is to be cruel to their *Souls*. If the Children born in the Priſons of the Inquiſition do happen to live, as they do ſometimes (tho one would wonder that any of them ſhould be born alive, conſidering the Horrours the Mothers are encompaſs'd with in that Hell upon Earth) they are forthwith ſent out to their Father, or to their neareſt Relations if their Father is dead, or a Priſoner in the Inquiſition.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
6.	31.	*Iſabel de Sa*, a New *Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Luis de Mattos Lopes*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Biſhoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*; who was reconciled for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith; which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on *September* the 12th, 1706. impriſoned a ſecond time for a Diminution of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

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Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
7.	22.	*Dona Hieronima Mauricia de Manganes*, half a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Antonio Tavaresda Costa*, a Merchant, who is in this List, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, in this Archbishoprick, and Inhabitant in this City, originally of the Kingdom of *Castile*; who was reconciled for the Faults of *Judaism*, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on *September* the 12th, 1706. Imprisoned a second time, for a Diminution of the same Faults.	*The same.*

This Lady was not one and twenty Years old when she was first cast into the Prisons of the Inquisition; by which People are taken up a second time, for a *Diminution*, when after having been let out the first time, they are accused of some Heretical Words or Actions which they had not

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mentioned in the Confeſſion of their Hereſies, whereupon they were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*.

The firſt Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
8.	51.	*Franca Nunes*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Manoel Mendes Tavares*, an Officer for collecting the Tax upon Snuff, Native of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Almodavar*, in the Biſhoprick of *Algarve*, and Reſident in this City.	*Priſon during Pleaſure, and the Habit, which ſhall be Taken off in the Act of the Faith.*
9.	17.	*Joanna Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Antaon vas Ribeyro*, a Shooemaker, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *St. Vincente da Beira*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*.	*The ſame.*

This was a young Creature, to have been ſo ne Months, if not Years, alone in the diſmal Priſons of the Inquiſition.

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N°	Ages.		Punishments.
10.	31.	*Guiomar Henriques*, a *New Christian*, and not marry'd; the Daughter of *Gabriel Nunes*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*Prison and Habit during Pleasure.*
11.	51.	*Maria Rodrigues*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Antonio Rodrigues*; a Broker of Native and Inhabitant in *Monsanto*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*
12.	18.	*Maria Soares Pereyra*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Joan Lopes Castanho*, an Advocate, who is in this List, Native and Inhabitant in this City, who abjured *de Leve*, for the Faults of Judaism, in the Act of the Faith, that was celebrated in the Hall of the Inquisition of this	*Perpetual Prison and Habit.*

City,

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Nº.	Ages.		Punishments.
		City, on the 30th of *October*, 1704. imprisoned a second time, upon new Discoveries of the same Faults.	

This Gentlewoman was not 15 Years old when she was first a Prisoner in the Inquisition.

13.	21.	*Leonor Nunes*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Luis Nunes*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Chacim*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaism, in the publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the City of *Conimbra* on the 2d of *March*, 1704. Imprisoned the second time, upon new Discoveries of the same Faults.	*The same.*

This

This Gentlewoman was not 18 Years old, when ſhe was firſt a Priſoner in the Inquiſition of *Conimbra*.

The Second Abjuration in Form for Judaiſm.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
14.	20.	*Dona Catherina Henriques*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Sebaſtian Dias da Sylva*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The ſame.*
15.	42.	*Iſabel Mendes Furtada*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Manoel Pinheiro Ferro*, Native of the City of *Toledo*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Franceſo*, in the Biſhoprick of *Viſeu*, and Reſident in this City.	*The ſame.*
16.	21.	*Dona Thereza Barreira*, a *New Chriſtian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Andre Barreira*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Olinda*, in	*The ſame.*

the

N°	Ages.		Punishments.
		the Bishoprick of *Parnamburo*, in the State of *Brasil*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*, originally of the Kingdom of *Castile*.	
17.	14.	*Leonor Maria*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Duarte Mendes*, a Shop-keeper, Native and Inhabitant in this Ctiy.	*The same.*

What a dismal thing must it be, for a Creature so young as this was, being under Fourteen when she was first thrown into the Prisons of the Inquisition, to spend Months, if not Years, all alone in a dark Hole, without seeing or hearing any living Creature, besides a dogged Keeper, and now and then the angry Inquisitors threatning her with the Tortures of the Rack, if she did not confess all her Heresies, and discover all her Teachers and Complices in them. And who can express the Agonies the Spirits of tender Parents are in, knowing their Children, whom they had bred up delicately, to be in such dreadful Circumstances; and these Agonies are the more torturing, for their not daring

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daring to make the leaſt Diſcovery of them, on pain of being ſuſpected as Favourers of Hereticks. And how airy and beautiful ſoever theſe young Ladies are, when they are firſt arreſted by a Familiar, they do, one and all, in the Proceſſion of the Act of the Faith, either ſtalk like ſo many Walking Ghoſts; or if they are carry'd, as they are pretty often, they look like ſo many Alabaſter Statues, carried upon Hand-barrows; nothing of Colour, nor of Life, being to be ſeen in their Lips, nor about their Eyes, which are commonly ſhut cloſe, by reaſon of their not being able to endure the Light after their having been ſo long in Darkneſs; the young Womens Countenances being commonly ſo much changed from what they were, that as they walk, or are carried in the Proceſſion, they are not certainly known by their neareſt Relations, and moſt Intimate Acquaintance.

N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
18.	42.	*Iſabel de Moraes*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Franciſco de Santiago*, a Farmer, Native of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the	*The ſame.*

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N°	Ages.		Punishments.
		the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in this City.	
19.	23.	*Dona Anna Maria Henriques*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Sebastian Dias de Sylva*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*

The Third Abjuration in Forma *for* Judaism.

20.	37.	*Philippa Garria*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Domingos da Costa de Miranda*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*; and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The same.*
21.	37.	*Brites Carvalho*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Francisco Lopes Preto*, a Physician, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*

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N°	Ages.		Punishments.
22.	21.	*Felippa de Deos*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Elizeu Pimentel*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Braganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The same.*
23.	33.	*Anna Feijo Flores*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Diogo de Avila de Seiras*, a Shop-keeper, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *Celorico*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*.	*The same.*
24.	35.	*Maria Mendes*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Alexandro de Moraes*, a Farmer, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*.	*The same.*
25.	38.	*Anna Mendes da Veyga*, a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Francisco Lopes Preto*, a Farmer, Native of the City of *Guar-*	*The same.*

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N°	Ages.		Puniſhments.
		Guarda, and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of the ſaid City.	
26.	31.	*Dona Hieronima Henriques de Chares*, a *New Chriſtian*, the Wife of *Gaſpar Lopes Henriques*, a Phyſician, who is in this Liſt, Native of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Diſtrict of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Biſhoprick of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaiſm, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 20th of *October*, 1704. impriſoned a ſecond time, upon new Diſcoveries of the ſame Faults.	*The ſame.*

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The Fourth Abjuration in Forma *for Judaism.*

Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
27.	19.	*Catherina Maria Roza*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Joan Lopes Castanho*, an Advocate, who is in this List, Native and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaism, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 20th of *October*, 1704. imprisoned a second time, upon new Discoveries of the same Faults.	*The same.*

This Gentlewoman's having been a Prisoner in the Inquisition before she was 16 Years old, was enough to spoil her Marriage in *Portugal* for ever.

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Nº	Ages.		Punishments.
28.	37.	*Anna Maria Rodrigues*, a *New Christian*, Widow of *Andre Barreyra*, a Merchant, Native of the Court of *Madrid*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
29.	30.	*Dona Guimar Maria Henriques*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Sebastian Dias de Sylva*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
30.	17.	*Dona Catherina Michaela de Chares*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Gasper Lopes Henriques*, a Physician, who is in this List, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	*The same.*
31.	22.	*Custodia Henriques*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Simaon Lopes Samuda*, a Physician; Native, and Inhabitant in this City.	*Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission, and 3 years in* Brazil.

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Here are three young Creatures ruined, whether they were ever set at Liberty, or not.

Persons deliver'd by the Court of the Inquisition to the Secular Magistrate.

N°	Ages.	Punishments.
1.	67.	*Don Gabriel Luis de Medina*, a *New Christian*, a Merchant, Native of the Court of *Madrid*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*; *Feigned*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Confessing*, *Diminute*, and *Impenitent*.
2.	33.	*Antonio Tavares da Costa*, half a *New Christian*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City; *Feigned*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Confessing*, *Revoking*, *Varying*, and *Impenitent*.

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Nº	Ages.	Punishments.
3.	26.	*Maria Lopes de Sequeyra*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Joseph de Sequeyra*, a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant in this City: *Feigned*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Confessing*, *Diminute*, and *Impenitent*.
4.	54.	*Dona Margarida Correa*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Thomas Pinto*, a Shopkeeper, Native of the City of *Malaga*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Setuval*, in this Arch-Bishoprick: *Convicted*, *Negative*, *Pertinacious*, and *Relapsed*.

These Four, who were deliver'd to the Secular Court, were all burnt within two Hours after; notwithstanding the Inquisitors, in Words most passionate, petition the Secular Magistrates not to touch their Lives:

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Lives: Which Petition, as I have shewed elsewhere, is the most profane and scandalous Mockery of God, and of Mercy, that is any where to be met with in History.

By this List we see what a terrible Havock is made by the Inquisition in *Portugal*, and especially among the trading People, to the great Diminution both of its Stock in Trade, and of the Number of its current and expert Merchants. For tho there were but four Persons burnt this Year in *Lisbon* by the Inquisition, there were above threescore undone by it; which is a great Number, considering, that but the Year before there was such another Inquisition Goal-delivery, in that City; and that but two Years before that there were two in it, and one in *Conimbra*, as appears from the foregoing List; and besides the frequent Acts of the Faith, or Inquisition Goal-deliveries, in *Lisbon* and *Conimbra*, there are the same, and as frequent and numerous, in the City of *Evora*, and in *Goa* in the *East-Indies*: By all which great Numbers of Families are undone every Year in *Portugal*, and in its Plantations. Any one of a Family's being taken up by the Inquisition goes a great way towards ruining it, filling them with such Horrours, as drive them into Countries that are out of the Reach

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of the Inquisitors and their Familiars; which was the Case of the following Person, who thereby sav'd his Life.

A Person executed in Estatua, *or Effigie.*

N°	Age.	Punishments.
1.	63.	*Francisco da Costa Pessoa*, a *New Christian*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City: *Convicted*, *Negative*, *Relapsed*, and *Absent*.

This Man's Picture, made of Pasteboard, as big as the Life, was carried in the Procession, after the four Prisoners that were to be burnt in Person; and it was burnt at the same time, and in the same Place where they were burnt, notwithstanding the Inquisitors, when it was delivered by them to the Secular Arm, do, I think, petition that Power, not to touch the Life of its Original, so far as to do his Picture any hurt.

Great Numbers, upon their having any of their Relations taken up by the Inquisition, do flee from *Portugal*, notwithstanding it is so difficult for them to make their Escape, by reason of their not daring

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ring to go into *Spain*; which is the only way they have to escape by Land. The way by which they commonly make their Escape, is, by getting a-board an *English* or *Dutch* Man-of-War: And tho when they are a-board these Ships they are as safe from the Inquisition as they are in *England* and *Holland*, no Officers, Civil or Ecclesiastical, being ever suffered to come a-board those Ships to make any Search, yet those poor Wretches, tho they do know this, and upon the Knowledge of it did put themselves on board, yet, if they happen to hear *Portuguese* spoke upon the Deck, or in any of the Cabins, they tremble Hand and Foot, as if the Familiars of the Inquisition were come to carry them away; neither do they ever think they are safe, until they are landed in a Country where they know the Inquisition cannot reach them; being, after they are got out of the River, still in Fear, that the Ship may by Stress of Weather be cast away on the Coast of *Portugal* or *Spain*. And by the Terrors which these poor Fugitives are under, we may judge of the Terrors they are under in the Prisons of the Inquisition.

A NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Inquiſition in *Lisbon*;

With a Perſon living now in *London*, and well known in it; Taken from his own Mouth, and publiſhed for the Uſe of the hardy Champions of the Inquiſition, who are pleaſed to call the View I gave of that Court, a malicious Miſrepreſentation of it.

I Was born, baptized and bred in the City of *Lisbon*, and was by my Parents, tho they were both *New Chriſtians*, edu-

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educated so entirely in the Religion of the *Roman* Church, that as I grew up, I never had the least Scruple in my Mind concerning the Truth of any of that Church's Doctrines, nor concerning the Lawfulness of any of her Precepts; and accordingly I did sincerely, and with no small Devotion, believe and practise all that the *Roman* Church taught and commanded.

As I was going on in this implicite Faith and Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, being one Day about my Business, which was Merchandizing, I was, at the Age of five and twenty, accosted in the Streets of *Lisbon* by two Familiars, who having asked me my Name, and the Place of my Habitation, and shewed me the Cross of the Inquisition, which they wore at their Breasts; they arrested me in the Name of the Holy Office, and having hurry'd me away to it, without suffering me to speak a Word to any body, they delivered me to a Warder, by whom I was thrown immediately into one of its Prisons; and as my Warder at our first Meeting called me Dog, so he ever after treated me as if I had been one. My Prison was five of my common Paces in Length, and three in Breadth; it had a little Light let into it by a Slit in the Wall, which was so narrow, that if I could have reached it with my

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my Eye (which I could not) I should not have seen any thing thro' it. I had scarce turned my self round in the melancholy Hole, before a Bed was brought in, which was sent from my House by the Officers, who had seiz'd on it, and sequestred all my Goods in the Minute that I was arrested. My Warder ask'd me doggedly about my Diet, and when I had told him what it used to be, he answered, you must not exceed three Vintems a Day, for that is all the Holy House allows you. A Vintem is about an English Peny Farthing.

The Knife that came with my first Meal, was of Bone, as are all the Knives in the Prisons of the Inquisition, to prevent the Prisoners cutting their Throats, or stabbing themselves with them; to which, by a dismal Solitude, Fears and ill Usage, they are too often tempted: For my own Part, being naturally active and stirring, my Life under that Confinement was so heavy a Burden to me, that I wished my self in my Grave a thousand times; and it was near two Years before I could perceive, that being used to it had made my Confinement any thing the easier; for as I had no Room to walk, so I had nothing to sit upon but the Ground, or my thin Quilt, which lay upon it; and being allowed neither

ther Book, Pen, Ink, nor Paper, nor any thing I could employ my ſelf about, every Day appeared a Year to me.

I had not been a Fortnight in this wretched Solitude, when I was viſited by one of the Inquiſitors; he gave me the Time of the Day very courteouſly, and aſked me whether I lacked for any thing? and whether my Warder was civil to me? Not daring to ſay otherwiſe, for fear of being worſe treated, I ſaid, My Warder, who was preſent, was very kind, and that I wanted ſuch and ſuch Things. But tho every thing that I had named was writ down, none of them were ever ſent to me, as I, being a Novice in their Ways at that time, did expect they would have been. For the Truth is, this civil Viſit of an Inquiſitor, which is made conſtantly once a Month to every Priſoner in the Inquiſition, is of no Benefit, and was inſtituted, and is continued for no other end, but to help the Inquiſitors to the falſe Reputation of being civil to their Priſoners, and that they may not be thought to have any hand in the cruel Uſage which they meet with from their Warders; to which ill Uſage nevertheleſs the Inquiſitors, tho they are not told of it by the Priſoners, when they aſk them concerning it, cannot poſſibly be Strangers, ſince they know very well,

that

that let it be never ſo bad, the Priſoners dare not complain of it to them, for fear of making it worſe, if it be poſſible.

It was ſix long Months (for very long ones they ſeem'd to me, before a Word was ſaid to me by any body concerning my Impriſonment; only my Warder called on me daily, (and ſeem'd always in a Rage) to be prepared to make a full Confeſſion of all my Hereſies, and of all my Complices in them; but at the End of ſix Months, an Alcalde came to me, and having commanded me to go along with him, he carried me into a Room where the Inquiſitors were; who with great Courteſy deſired me to ſit down on a Stool by them; and tho I deſired ſeveral times to be excus'd, they made me ſit down. Being ſeated, I was asked by an Inquiſitor, *Whether I knew for what Reaſon I had been taken up by the holy Office?* I anſwered; *If it were to ſave my Life I could not gueſs what it ſhould be.* I was then asked by the ſame Inquiſitor, *Who my Father and my Mother were? Where I was born? Where, and with whom I went to School? Whether I had any Brothers and Siſters? Whether I was marry'd? Who were my moſt familiar Acquaintances?* With twenty more ſuch Queſtions: To all which having return'd true Anſwers, my Anſwers were all writ down

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from my Mouth by the Secretary. When that was over, the ſame Inquiſitor, with a ſeeming great Tenderneſs for me, and for all my Concerns, but chiefly for the Health and Salvation of my poor Soul, which, he ſaid, was all that the holy Office aim'd at, told me, *That I was accus'd of Hereſy, and of having committed divers Acts of* Judaiſm; *but as he hoped I had repented of thoſe wicked Acts, ſo if I had, I could not but make an humble and full Confeſſion of all my Hereſies, and of all my Complices:* to the doing whereof he paſſionately exhorted me. My Anſwer was, *I had never in Thought, Word, nor Deed, been guilty of any Hereſy; nor did I ever commit any Act that I knew to be an Act of* Judaiſm; *neither did I know what* Judaiſm *was.* The Inquiſitor raiſing his Voice upon that, ſaid, *He was ſorry to hear me ſay ſo; for there were clear Proofs before them of my Guilt; and that if there had not, I had never been diſturbed by the holy Office.* And having thereupon run into high Encomiums of the extraordinary Mercy of the Inquiſition to its Priſoners, who by making a full Confeſſion of all their Hereſies, and of all their Complices, did appear to be penitent. He entreated me, as I deſired to partake of that Mercy, forthwith to make ſuch a Confeſſion. I reply'd, *I could not do it, with-*

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without wounding my Conſcience, by accuſing my ſelf and others falſely, which I was ſure their Lordſhips did not deſire I ſhould do. They ſaid, *They did not; but being ſatisfy'd of my Guilt, they conjured me to confeſs it.* And having told them as before, *That being innocent, I could not do it with a ſafe Conſcience*; they ſaid, *It was a great Trouble to them to ſee me ſo impenitent*; and commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and ſtrictly to examine my Conſcience there, in order to the unburdening of it to them, to the ſaving of my Soul: And having rung a little Bell, the Alcalde came in, and carry'd me back to my Priſon; where, to do them Juſtice, they allowed me Time enough for the examining of my Conſcience; for it was full ſix Months more before I had any Interruption from the Inquiſitors; when I was by the ſame Alcalde carry'd before them a ſecond time, and having made me ſit down as before, they ſaid, They hoped I came prepared to make a full and humble Confeſſion of all my Hereſies, and of all my Complices. I anſwer'd as before, I had never been guilty of any Hereſy, nor had I ever committed any Acts of *Judaiſm*, and ſo could have no Complices in them: And for their farther Satisfaction, I did ſolemnly proteſt, that I was as innocent as the Child

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unborn. At this they all lifted up their Eyes, and shook their Heads, and told me with stern Countenances, that they were sure that was false. I was then asked by them, whether I did not remember that I had committed some Acts of *Judaism*; but without naming any to me. I answer'd, In my whole Life I had never committed any, and whoever they were that had accused me of them, had wronged me very much; and did therefore humbly beseech their Lordships, as they desired not to condemn an innocent Person, not to give any Credit to those Accusers; offering, if they would but let me know who they were, to prove them to be false. But instead of telling me who were my Accusers, (which they will never do to any Prisoner) they told me, They were satisfy'd I was a harden'd Heretick; and commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and pray to God, to touch my Conscience with such a Sense of my Guilt, as would oblige me to unburthen it to them: And being carry'd back to my Prison as before, I had six Months more given me to pray as they had directed; when being carry'd before the Inquisitors a third time, tho I had still the Civility of the Seat, their Countenances were much grimmer than I had seen them before. After many long

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Expoſtulations and Denunciations of Woes againſt Heretieks, as the worſt of People; they ſaid, They hoped I came prepared to make a full Confeſſion of all my Hereſies and Complices: I anſwer'd as before, I had never been guilty of any Hereſy in Thought, Word, nor Deed, and ſo can have no Complices in any. They told me, They knew that was falſe, and that if I continu'd obſtinate, they ſhould be forc'd to uſe rigorous Methods with me, meaning the Rack. I reply'd, They might do with me what they pleaſed, but I hop'd I ſhould have the Grace never to accuſe my ſelf nor any body elſe falſely, as I muſt, if I confeſſed the Acts they had charged me with. They ſaid, I was a moſt harden'd Heretick, and bid me go back to my Apartment, and pray for Grace to confeſs, and not deny the Hereſies I had been guilty of. Being return'd to my Priſon, the Rack, to which I expected to have been carry'd every Hour, was Day and Night in my Thoughts: But I was miſtaken, for in nine Months I heard no more from the Inquiſitors, and was during all that time baited ſo by my Warder, that I trembled at the very Sight of him. After that, to my great Surprize, one who was a Priſoner in the Inquiſition was turn'd into me, and finding that I was like to have him for

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a Companion, tho he was an utter Stranger to me, I was much comforted with his Preſence: But we had not been long together, before I plainly perceiv'd by his Diſcourſe, that his Errand to me was, to perſwade me to confeſs; and after he had once broke that Matter to me, he teaz'd me Day and Night ſo to do it, that I heartily wiſhed my ſelf alone again. I ask'd him at laſt, whether he himſelf had confeſs'd? he ſaid, He had not, and being innocent, could not do it. I told him, he could not be more innocent than I was; and did therefore beg of him to let us talk of ſomething elſe. But in vain, for he was ſtill harping on the ſame ſtring.

The Inquiſitors being informed, I ſuppoſe, by our Warder (who was wonderful civil to my Companion, and did uſe to whiſper with him) that there was no likelihood of his being able to prevail with me to confeſs, he was after ſome Weeks, to my great Eaſe, removed; and being ſoon after carried before the Inquiſitors a fourth time, I was asked by them, whether I came now prepared to confeſs all my Hereſies and Complices; and having told them as before, that I could not do it with a ſafe Conſcience, the Fiſcal was called in, and commanded to read my Proceſs to me; which he did very diſtinctly. The

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greateſt part of it was nothing but Forms, aggravating the great Sinfulneſs of Hereſy, and the Damnable Eſtate all Heretricks were in; and extolling the Mercy and Juſtice of the holy Office. Its Subſtance was, the charging me home with the Acts of Judaiſm in general, without naming any, together with a Declaration of my Guilt's being ſufficiently proved by two unexceptionable Witneſſes; but they were not named.

When the Fiſcal had done reading, I was asked what I had to ſay for my ſelf? My Anſwer was, I had never committed any ſuch Acts, and that did I but know who they were that witneſſed againſt me, I did not doubt of being able to proye 'em to be my mortal Enemies, and to have accus'd me out of Malice. The Inquiſitors ſaid nothing to that, but told me, ſince I was reſolv'd to make my Defence, they would appoint a Lawyer to aſſiſt me in it. I thank'd their Lordſhips for that Favour, but withal declared to them, that the moſt holy Father himſelf was not a truer Chriſtian than I was. They ſeem'd to be very angry at this, and bid me go back to my Apartment, like an harden'd Heretick as I was. A few Days after, I was viſited by a Lawyer, who told me, he was appointed by the Lords Inquiſitors to be my

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my Advocate; but that being of Opinion I was guilty, he thought the best Office he could do me, was to advise me to confess, that I might find Mercy both from God, and from the holy Office. I told him over and over, I was as innocent as the Child unborn; but that did not hinder him from seeking by twenty Arts and Windings to have drawn me insensibly into a Confession; neither did he give over, until I had stopped his Mouth, by telling him, I thought he had come to me to be my Advocate, and not my Confessor. He then ask'd me, what I had to offer in my Defence besides my own Word, which, he said, was little regarded by the Lords Inquisitors. I told him, I was sorry for that; but whoever they were that had accus'd me, were certainly mine Enemies, and had done it out of Malice; and that could I but know who they were, I should prove it upon them. He reply'd, there was no need of that, for would I but confess all my Complices, he doubted not but I would light on my Accusers. I said, I could have no Complices in Acts I had never committed; but by running over all mine Enemies, I did hope I might in a Day or two find out who they were that had accused me. He said, that would do well, but that I must likewise

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have Proofs of their being my Enemies; and having desired me to provide them, he left me for that time. Never was any Man's Mind more perplexed for two Days and two Nights than mine was, to find out who they should be that had accused me; and as I doubted not of their having done it either upon the Rack, or to save their Lives, so I did resolve to pitch on two of my Acquaintance, whom I knew to be in the Prisons of the Inquisition before I was taken up by it; and having at last fixed on two, who above all others were, I thought, the most likely to have accused me, I did resolve to name them to my Advocate, as my Enemies, and to name Witnesses that should prove it; and accordingly, when my Advocate returned, I delivered their Names to him, and the Places of their Habitation; which he writ down, and did promise to see the whole Matter strictly examined, and to serve me in it as far as his Conscience would allow him. What was done in it by my Advocate and the Inquisitors, is unknown to me; only my Advocate returning after some Weeks, did with much Choler tell me, I had given the Lords Inquisitors and him a great deal of Trouble, to no manner of purpose, and that if I did not confess, I would in a short time be certainly condemn'd

demn'd to the Rack. With that my Advocate (who, I ſuppoſe, was paid his Fees out of my forfeited Goods) and I parted, and did never ſee one another any more.

My Advocate's having at parting told me, that if I did not confeſs I ſhould certainly be put on the Rack, diſturbed me extreamly. However I reſolv'd not to do it, in Contradiction to my Conſcience; and in that Reſolution I continu'd, until another Priſoner of the Inquiſition, who to avoid the Torture, had confeſs'd, was turn'd in to me; and tho this, as well as the former, was quite a Stranger to me, yet he told his Story ſo well, and us'd ſo many Arguments to convince me, that nothing but a Confeſſion could ſave me from the Rack, which would certainly extort one from me; that I was determin'd to confeſs, tho being innocent I did not know how to go about it. All the Acts of Judaiſm that I could think of I did reſolve to confeſs; but when I came to conſider, whom I ſhould accuſe of having been my Complices in Acts which I had never committed, I was in a terrible Plunge, knowing, that if I ſhould accuſe a Thouſand, if I did not light on the two that were the Witneſſes againſt me, it would do me no Good; and how to find

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out who they were, puzzl'd me extreamly: However I resolv'd to accuse the two I had before named to my Advocate as my Enemies; and, to make sure work, I added eight more of my Acquaintance to them; and having settled that whole Affair in my Head, I desired my Warder to supplicate the Lords Inquisitors to let me have a *Board*, for so an Audience in the Inquisition is called. And so officious was my Warder to serve me in this Case, that I had a *Board* granted me the same Day. When I came before the Inquisitors, I threw my self down at their Feet, and did beg God's and their Pardon for my Obstinacy. They spoke to me to rise up, and said, they were glad to see me so well dispos'd. I told them, God forgive me for it; that the Night before the holy Spirit had touch'd my Conscience so, that I was not able to stand out any longer, and so had resolv'd to make an humble and full Confession to their Lordships. They said, I would do very well, and bid me begin. I then confess'd to them, that I had been guilty of all the Acts of Judaism wherewith I stood charged in my Process, and did add several more to them of the same sort. I was much commended by the Inquisitors for this my Ingenuity, and they bid me be as ingenuous in the Confession of my Complices.

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plices. I named ten Persons to them, who, I said, had all join'd with me in Acts of Judaism, whose Names, and the Places of their Habitations, were all writ down from my Mouth by the Secretary. I was much praised by the Inquisitors; but withal they told me, that my Confession was diminute, for I had Complices which I had not nam'd. I answer'd, that if I had any more, I had forgot them. They said, they did not believe I had, and so commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and rub up my Memory. My Mind was now in a greater Anxiety than ever, for I had already nam'd all that I could think of, that were likely to have accused me; however after many an uneasy Thought, I did pitch on two more, and having done it, I did, by my Warder, supplicate to have another *Board*; which having been granted, I named those two to the Inquisitors. They said, I had done well, but that they knew that I had not as yet named all my Complices; and tho I did assure them that I could not remember any more, and that if they would but let me know who they were that I had omitted, I would tell them truly whether they had been my Complices or not. They bid me go back to my Apartment, and consider further of it. I did so, but with

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ſo heavy a Heart, that I wiſhed my ſelf dead a thouſand times, and did wiſh alſo that I had never made any Confeſſion, to the wronging of others, and of my own Conſcience: And tho I had not the Courage to go before the Inquiſitors, and revoke the falſe Confeſſion which I had made, yet I did reſolve not to accuſe any more, let them do what they would to me; and namely, not my Brother, who was very dear to me, and who, tho he was not in the Inquiſition when I was taken up, might, I feared, have been taken up ſoon after, and to prevent his being racked, might have accuſed me as one of his Complices; and having for that Reaſon ſupplicated for no more *Boards*, tho my Warder roar'd at me continually for not doing it, for ſome Weeks I heard nothing from the Inquiſitors: But being at laſt carry'd before them by an Alcalde, they ask'd me, Whether I did not remember any more of my Complices, beſides thoſe I had named to them? I proteſted to them that I could not, and that if they would but be pleas'd to let me know who they were that I had not named, I would be ſure to tell them the Truth. They ſaid, there was no need of that, for they knew I could not have forgot them, and that if I did not confeſs them quickly, I ſhould be put to the Queſtion.

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stion. I told them, I was the unhappiest Man alive, and begg'd of them to shew me some Mercy. They said, they were ready to do it, if I would confess all my Complices, and bid me go back to my Apartment, and consider of it again: I did so, and with Agonies of Mind which no Tongue is able to express. After some Days an Alcalde came to me, and told me, he was order'd by the Lords Inquisitors to carry me to the Torture. I bitterly lamented the Sadness of my Condition to him, and told him that I was so weak, for I had not slept for several Days, that I should certainly die if I were tortured: But I was, notwithstanding all I could say, carry'd by him to the Place where the Torture is given; where besides the Executioner, and some who seemed to be Porters, there was an Inquisitor, a Scrivener, a Physician, and Chirurgion. The Inquisitor, as soon as I came in, apply'd himself to me, and with a seeming great Compassion beseeched me to make a full Confession of all my Complices, that I might not be put to the Question. I told him, I had done that already, and that to save my Life I could not remember that I had any more Complices than I had named. The Executioner was all this while preparing the Rack, and when he had done that,

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that, having ſtripped me naked to my Drawers, the Inquiſitor left me to him. The firſt thing the Executioner did, he brought both my Arms behind my Back, and ty'd them together ſo with a ſmall Cord, that the Blood was ready to have guſhed out at the Ends of my Fingers. When that was done, which put me to great Pain, with a Pulley the Executioner by the Cord drew me up two or three Foot off the Ground: None that have not felt it, can poſſibly imagine how great the Torture was that I endured then; the Bones of my Shoulder-blades being both preſently drawn out of their Places, by the whole Weight of my Body's ſwinging in the Air upon my Arms in that Poſture; and in Truth the Pain was ſo inſupportable, that I really thought I was juſt expiring; and having cry'd out that I was, the Phyſician came and felt my Pulſe, and ſaid it was true, and that if I was not let down preſently, I was a dead Man. Upon his Word I was let down, and tho' the Pain I was in after I was upon the Ground, was very great, it was nothing to the Pain I was in whilſt I hung ſhaking in the Air. After I had recovered my Spirits a little again, my Inquiſitor came to me, and asked me why I was ſo cruel to my ſelf, as to endure the Torture rather than confeſs all

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all my Complices. Upon a little Recollection, I named two more to him. He ſaid, I had done well, but that my Confeſſion was ſtill diminute, and did with a ſeeming wonderful great Tenderneſs beg of me to name them, that the Torture might not be repeated. I could not yet prevail with my ſelf to accuſe my poor Brother, tho I had now great Reaſon to believe he was one of the Perſons that had accuſed me; but not being certain of it, I did reſolve to endure the Torture again, rather than accuſe him; and having told the Inquiſitor poſitively, that if they would tear me to Pieces I could not remember any more, he left me to the Executioner, who drew me off the Ground as before. I hung in an Extremity of Torture, until the Phyſician cry'd out, I would expire preſently, if I had not ſome Baſe given me. So I was let down, but was not in ſome time after I was upon the Ground able to ſpeak a Word. As ſoon as I came to my Speech the Inquiſitor return'd to me, and asked me the ſame Queſtion as before: But inſtead of giving him any Anſwer, I wiſh'd paſſionately, that they had been ſo kind to me, as to have ſuffered me to have died when I was ſo near it. The Inquiſitor ſtorm'd at this, and having called me a deſperate and impenitent

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penitent Heretick, he ask'd me, whether I did not believe the Torments of Hell-Fire, into which I muſt have gone infallibly, if I had died then, denying my Complices, to be infinitely more painful than the Tortures I endur'd on the Rack. I told him, I ſhould certainly die if I was tortur'd any more, Nature being ſcarce able to bear the Pain I was in at preſent. The Inquiſitor ſaid, it was in my own Power to prevent it, and did, according to the Forms of the Inquiſition, beg me to do it; and ſo he left me to the Executioner, by whom I was drawn up a third time, and did hang in the Air till my Senſes were quite gone, by reaſon of the Extremity of the Torture. How long I hung after that, or how long I had been on the Ground before I came to my ſelf, I cannot tell; but after my Senſes were return'd the Inquiſitor return'd to me again, and did, according to the Stiles of the Inquiſition, earneſtly beg'd of me not to be thus cruel to my ſelf; and having hinted to me, that if I did not confeſs ſome more Complices, the Torture would be repeated; my Heart failed me, and I told him, that I did not know but that my Brother, whom I had not yet named, might have joined with me in ſome of the Acts of *Judaiſm*, which I had confeſſed; but not being

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ing certain of it, I had been unwilling to accuse him. The Inquisitor answer'd, if my Brother had been one of my Complices, I could not but be certain of it, and that if I did not confess that he was, the Torture would be repeated, to make me tell the Truth. Upon that I own'd to him, that I was certain of my Brother's having been one of my Complices, but that the great natural Affection which I had for my Brother, hindred me so long from accusing him. I was upon that Confession carry'd back to my Prison, to which I was attended by the Physician and Chirurgeon. The Chirurgeon put all my disjointed Bones into their Places again, and the Physician having felt my Pulse, let me Blood twice that Day, to prevent a strong Fever which he apprehended was coming upon me; and he had reason, for before next Morning I was light-headed, and in my Distraction, as I was told afterwards by an Inquisitor, I had called all the Inquisitors, and all the Warders, Dogs and Devils, and had said all the ill things of them that a distemper'd Fancy could suggest. After my Fever, which lasted near a Fortnight, was pretty well over, I was visited by an Inquisitor, and a Scrivener. The Inquisitor ask'd me, whether I remembered all that I had said during my Sickness,

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neſs, and ſeem'd to believe I did. I aſſured him I did not, having been out of my Senſes for ſeveral Days. He then told me of my having called them all Dogs and Devils in a moſt outragious manner. I ſaid I was very ſorry for it, but did not remember that I had ever ſpoke any ſuch Words; tho to ſpeak the Truth, after the Inquiſitor had repeated them to me, I had ſomething of a confus'd Memory of them. The Confeſſion I had made on the Rack, was then read to me by the Notary, and the Inquiſitor ask'd me whether it was true, and whether I would ſet my Hand to it? But tho to do it went ſo againſt my Conſcience, that I had rather have loſt my right Hand, than have ſign'd it; yet knowing that if I did not, I ſhould certainly be ſent back to the Rack, I did ſign it, as well as the Pain of my Arm, which when I moved it was ſtill very ſore, would allow me. I was for near a Month after this very quiet, neither was my Warder quite ſo dogged to me as before; but being after that carry'd before the Inquiſitors again, I was ſeverely reprov'd by them for my great Obſtinacy. But that was not their chief Buſineſs at this time, for they enquired of me very ſtrictly, whether I had any Money owing to me, and in whoſe Hands it was; I told them, I

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was but a young Man, and juſt ſet up, when I was arreſted, and that I did owe Money, which I had borrowed, but had none owing to me; upon that, the Fiſcal being preſent, they commanded me, under pain of Excommunication, to tell them the Truth in that matter: I ſaid I had done it, and did name my Creditors to them; but I did not obſerve that they writ down their Names, nor did they ſeem to regard what I had ſaid concerning them. In a few days after this Board, I was carried by an Alcalde to a Room where a Jeſuit came to inſtruct all the Penitents that were to go out in the next Act of the Faith, in the Elements of the Chriſtian Religion; This Lecture continued till the Veſpers of that Act, and being carried early the next Morning into a great Hall, which was full of Priſoners, I had there the Habit of *Fengo Revolto* put upon me, which I wore in the Proceſſion, and was at night brought back again to the Inquiſition, where I was kept ſome Weeks, and was catechized every Day, to inſtruct and confirm me in the Roman Faith and Obſervances, ſeveral of which I had almoſt forgot during the long time of my Impriſonment: During all which time, I never ſaw a Confeſſor, nor did I ever hear Maſs; nor was I ever ſpoke to, to exerciſe any of the Rites of Worſhip.

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ſhip. When I was thought to be ſufficiently inſtructed and confirmed, I was carried before the Inquiſitors, who gave me a long Admonition, and did at laſt prohibit me, under pain of the greater Excommunication, ever to divulge to any Perſon, any thing that I had heard, ſeen, or ſuffered in the Holy Office; and with that, they turned me out into the wide World, after I had been four Years and eight Months a Priſoner in the Inquiſition.

I went ſtrait to my Houſe, where I found a Family had been ſettled for ſome Years; I asked them where all my Goods were: they ſaid, they were told they were all removed by the Order of the Fiſcal the day after I was arreſted: I went to the Fiſcal to have them, or at leaſt ſome of them, to help me to Bread, but I never had the Value of one Vintem from him: I remained ſome Months in *Lisbon* in a poor Condition, but having at laſt got a little Money to pay for my Paſſage, I ſtole on board an Engliſh Ship one Night that was to ſail next Morning, on which I got to *England*, where I have been ever ſince.

'After I had taken the Subſtance of this 'Narrative from the Relater's Mouth in '*Portugueze*, I asked him ſeveral Queſtions, 'which I ſhall here ſet down, with his

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Anſwers to them. I asked him firſt, Why, if he were a ſincere Romaniſt, as he ſaid he was, he did leave *Portugal*. His Anſwer was, That having ſeen the ways by which People were brought into the Inquiſition, he thought he, being a new Chriſtian, ſhould be ſtill in danger of being carried back to that Hell, as he called it. I then asked him, how, if he had not been inclined to *Judaiſm* before, he came to turn *Jew* in *England*; he ſaid, being by Birth a new Chriſtian, he had ſome Relations among the *Portugueze Jews* in *London*, by whom he was kindly entertained, and who did all ſpeak *Portugueze*, or *Spaniſh*, which were all the Languages he underſtood. I asked him, whether the Cruelties which had been exerciſed upon him in the Inquiſition, had not prejudiced him very much againſt the Chriſtian Faith? he confeſſed they had; but he ſaid, he had other Reaſons for his having changed his Religion. I told him, that tho that was enough to prejudice him againſt Popery, by whoſe Spirit and Miniſters thoſe Cruelties in Matters of Religion were exerciſed, yet having come among Proteſtants, whoſe Religion condemns all ſuch Cruelties, he ought not to have renounced the Chriſtian Faith, but to

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'have embraced that Faith as it was 'taught in the Church of *England*; he 'owned, the Proteſtant Religion was for 'that, and for divers other Reaſons better 'than the *Roman*; but being himſelf of 'the Seed of *Abraham*, and of the Tribe 'of *Judah*, he ſaid he was convinced he 'could be ſaved in no other Law, but in 'that of *Moſes*; which *Chriſtians* and *Ma-'hometans*, as well as the *Jews*, did own to 'have been promulgated by the great God 'himſelf. I told him, that was very true, 'but that it was manifeſt from the Scrip-'tures of the Old Teſtament, that the Ce-'remonial part of that Law was to be 'aboliſhed by the coming of the Meſſias, 'to make way for a more ſpiritual Diſpen-'ſation. His Reply to this, was, that 'God was unchangeable, but withal 'he told me poſitively, that he would 'not, with me, nor with no Body elſe, 'enter into any Diſpute about that Mat-'ter. I asked him whether he did not think 'he might have been ſaved if he had turned 'Proteſtant when he came into *England*, 'and had lived and died in that Faith? He 'anſwered, being of the Seed of *Abra-'ham*, he could be ſaved in no other 'Law, but in that of *Moſes*; but for the 'Nations of the World, which were not 'deſcended from *Abraham*, he believed, if

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'they led holy Lives, they might all be 'saved in their several Sects. He seemed 'to have much Charity for Men of all 'Religions, except *Jews* not professing the 'Law of *Moses*, and the Inquisitors, and 'their Officers; who, he said, were not 'Men, but Devils come from Hell, who 'having taken the Shape of Men upon 'them, must, when they left the Bodies 'which they had assumed, return to the 'Place from whence they came; and of 'this he seemed to be fully perswaded; 'so powerfully was his Judgment of the 'Inquisitors and their Officers, influenced 'by the Aversion he had for them, which 'I do own was the strongest I had ever 'seen in any Case; neither is it to be won-'dred at, if his Narrative of their Pro-'ceedings with him be true, as he more 'than once did solemnly protest to me 'it was, to the best of his Remem-'brance: And in Truth I am the more apt 'to believe it to be so, because it contains 'nothing that contradicts what the Inqui-'sitors themselves have published in their 'Books, concerning their Proceedings 'with their Prisoners; from which, as 'well as from this Narrative, 'tis mani-'fest that the Inquisition has Appearances 'of Mercy, only in established Forms and 'Stiles; but is for Unrighteousness and

'Inhumanity such a Court as was never 'before heard of on Earth. And tho for 'this Reason, there was no Nation that 'did not at first strive violently against the 'setting up of the Inquisition in it, *Rome* 'it self not excepted, where the People, 'as soon as that Pope was dead, who in 'his last Minutes had called the Inquisition, the *Bulwark of the* Roman *Church*, 'did all rise, and burn all its Papers and 'Buildings down to the Ground: Yet, by 'some Sorcery or other, as one would 'think, that justly odious Court is since 'become the Palladium and Idol of all the 'old *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Christians. 'For which great Change, I could never 'see any thing that looked like a Reason, 'besides that ill-natur'd one, of Peoples 'loving to see others in Fears and Dangers, provided they themselves be safe, 'or do imagine that they are so, which all 'the old *Portuguese* Christians think they 'are; and that because the Inquisition in 'all Cases, wherein the *Roman* Church is 'not immediately concern'd, as in the 'Cases of *Sodomy* and *Bigamy*, are much 'more merciful than the Civil Courts are 'in the same Kingdoms: And those two 'Crimes were, I reckon, brought under 'the Inquisition's Cognizance, for no o-'ther end, but to drown the Noise, which

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'they knew its barbarous Cruelties, ex-
'ercis'd in all Caſes relating immediately
'to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, muſt
'neceſſarily raiſe in the World, by its ex-
'traordinary Mercifulneſs in theſe two
'vile Caſes. But by theſe and many other
'like ſubtle Devices the Inquiſition is e-
'ſtabliſh'd and kept up; ſo that it may
'be juſtly doubted, whether is greater,
'the wicked Policy of thoſe that ſet it up,
'or the Folly and Stupidity of the Nations,
'that do not only ſubmit to it, but are
'fond of it. And truly of the *Portugueſes*
'being fond of the Inquiſition, I was fully
'convinc'd, by their Behaviour in the
'great and long Conteſt which was be-
'twixt the ſtiff old Pope *Odiſchalchi* and
'the Inquiſition in that Kingdom, during
'the time I was in *Lisbon*.

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THE

SPANISH

PROTESTANT

Martyrology.

By *Michael Geddes*, LL. D. and *Chancellor* of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.

How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth? Rev. VI. 10.

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THE PREFACE.

THE Eminent Spaniſh *Divines, that were ſent by the Emperor* Charles V. *and his Son* Philip, *into* Germany, England, *and* Flanders, *to convert the* Proteſtants *in thoſe Countries to the* Roman Faith, *having, by converſing with the* Reformers, *and reading their Books, been themſelves converted to the* Catholick, *return'd home full of Zeal to propagate that holy Faith through their Native Country. And being Perſons, both by their exemplary Piety, and great Learning, extremely well qualify'd for ſo great and bleſſed a Work, their Succeſs in it was ſuch, that had not a ſpeedy and full Stop been put to their pious Labours by the mercileſs Inquiſition, the whole Kingdom of* Spain *had in all likelihood been converted to the* Proteſtant Religion, *in leſs time than any other Country had been ever before; ſo mightily grew the Word of God, and prevail'd by the Labours of ſuch great Men, who had been called to the Knowledge and Love of it, after ſuch an extraordinary manner.*

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And to satisfy the Reader, that I do not affirm this without good Warrant, I shall here set down what is said concerning those holy Men, by the Writer of the Historia Pontifical, *a zealous Papist, and by* Paramus, *an Inquisitor, in his History of the* Inquisition.

In former times, *saith the Author*, of the *Historia Pontifical*, the Prisoners that were brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, *or with St.* Benitos, were mean People, and of a bad Race. But in these latter Years we have seen its Prisons, Scaffolds, and Stakes, filled with illustrious Persons of noble Families, and with others, who, as to all outward Appearances, had great Advantages over their Neighbours, as well for their Learning, as for their Piety. Now the Fountain of this, and of many more Evils, *saith he*, was our Catholick Princes (out of the great Affection which they had for *Germany*, *England*, and other Countries, that were not under the Obedience of the *Roman Church*) having sent divers learned Men and Preachers, out of *Spain* into those Parts; hoping by their Sermons to have converted those that were in Error, to the way of Truth; but such was their Misfortune, that instead of reaping Fruit by that Diligence, the Preachers that had been thus sent by them, to give Light to others, returned home blind themselves. And having

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ving either been deceiv'd, or poſſeſs'd with an Ambition of being eſteemed learned, and of having improved themſelves in thoſe Foreign Countries, they followed the Example of the Hereticks, who had broach'd Hereſy in them.

And in another Place, the ſame Author ſpeaking of the ſame Perſons, and of the Converts which they had made, ſaith, All the Priſoners in the Inquiſitions of *Valedolid*, *Sevil*, and *Toledo*, were Perſons abundantly well qualify'd. I ſhall here paſs their Names in Silence, that I may not by their bad Fame, ſtain the Honour of their Anceſtors, and the Nobility of the ſeveral illuſtrious Families which were infected with this Poiſon. And as thoſe Priſoners were Perſons thus qualify'd, ſo their Number was ſo great, that had the ſtop which was put to that Evil been delay'd 2 or 3 Months longer, I am perſwaded all *Spain* had been put in a Flame by them.

And of the Diſpoſition Spain *was in at this time, viz. betwixt the Year* 1559. *and* 1560. *to have embrac'd the* Proteſtant Religion, *we have a farther Teſtimony from* Paramus, *who in his Hiſtory of the Inquiſition affirms,* That had not the Inquiſition taken care in time, to have put a ſtop to thoſe Proteſtant Preachers, the Proteſtant Religion would have run through *Spain* like Wild-fire; People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes having been won-

wonderfully disposed to embrace it.

So powerful were the Doctrines of the Reformation in those Days, that no Prejudices, nor Interests, were any where strong enough to hinder piously disposed Minds, after they came thoroughly to understand them, from embracing them. And that the same Doctrines have not still the same divine force, is neither owing to their being grown older, nor to Popery's not being so gross, nor to any Change in Peoples natural Dispositions, but is owing purely to the want of the same Zeal for those Doctrines in their Professors, and especially for the three great Doctrines of the Reformation, *which the following Martyrs sealed with their Blood; which were,* That the Pope is *Anti-Christ*; That the Worship of the *Church* of *Rome* is idolatrous; and that a Sinner is justify'd in the Sight of God by Faith, and through Christ's, and not thro' his own Merits.

There be two things the Reader of this Martyrology ought to be advertis'd of; the one is, That no Credit is to be given to Inquisitors and their Creatures Reports of the Prisoners that are put to Death by them, since nothing is more notorious, than their reckoning it to be so far from being a Sin, that they reckon it to be meritorious, by Slanders and Calumnies, to rob all of their Good-name, whom they deprive of their Lives; representing 'em always as such Monsters of Wickedness, that whatever their

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Religion had been, they had deserved for their Immoralities to have suffered Death.

So when vast Numbers of the Albigenses *were put to Death, for having separated themselves from the* Communion *of the* Roman *Church, on the account of the Idolatry of her Worship, the Inquisitors had the Confidence to affirm,* That they held it lawful to deny the *Christian Faith* with their Mouths, to avoid being Persecuted for it; *and that* they affirmed that the Devil, having been unjustly thrown out of Heaven, ought to be worshipped more than God; *and that* promiscuous Venery was lawful, but Matrimony was Hell and Damnation, and that the murthering of Infants, and drinking of their Blood, was their daily Practice in their Assemblies of Worship.

And as the Inquisitors do in this vile and unmanly Course imitate their Predecessors, the Heathen Persecutors of the Christian Faith; so, if I am not mistaken, all such Persecutors are forced to take this base Course in their own Defence; and that because the great Body of Mankind have still too much good Nature and Humanity left in them, long to suffer People whose Lives are owned to be unblamable, to be tortured, and put to cruel Deaths, meerly on the account of some speculative Perswasions in Religion.

The second thing the Reader of this Martyrology *is to be advertis'd of, is, Not to wonder*

dar at his meeting with no Account of what was said by the following Martyrs, either at their Tryals, or at their Death. For as all things within the Inquisition, where they were try'd, were transacted with a wonderful Secrecy; so if any of its Prisoners, when they are brought out to be burnt, do either in the Procession, or on the Scaffold, where they receive the Sentence of Death, or at the Stake, offer to speak a Word in Defence of the Religion they are about to die for, they are immediately gagg'd, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.

And thus that Unity the Roman Church *boasts of so much, is preserved by Methods which must necessarily maintain Unity in any Body of Men. For can any Society that destroys all presently that differ from it, let its Errors be never so many, or so gross, be possibly troubled with any Divisions? And as that Pope, who on his Death-bed called the Inquisition,* The Pillar of the Church of *Rome, was perfectly in his Senses when he spake these Words, so I doubt that Church will never do its bold Pretence to Infallibility, which it would perswade the World is the Cause of its Unity, the Honour to try how it would maintain Unity in it, without the help of Inquisitions, and other sanguinary Methods.*

THE

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THE

SPANISH PROTESTANT Martyrology.

ABout the Year 1440, great numbers of People were, at the Instigation of the Inquisitors, driven by the King's Musqueteers out of the Highlands of *Durango* in *Biscay*, to *Valladolid*, and *Domingo de Calzada*, who were burnt alive at those places, for refusing to abjure divers Doctrines which are condemned as Heretical by the *Roman* Church.

We are not told what the Doctrines were such multitudes of People were thus put to death for professing; but it is more than probable, that they were the same with those of the *Vaudois* among the *Alpes*; the Primitive Faith having, till about this time, been preserved entire in some Mountainous and almost inaccessible Countries, by reason of their having never been before haunted by any *Popish Fryars* or Inquisitors to

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to corrupt it, or to puniſh its ſtedfaſt Profeſſors with death.

Mr. *Nicholas Burton.*

The firſt that ſuffered Martyrdom in *Spain* for being a Proteſtant, that we read of, was Mr. *Nicholas Burton*, an *Engliſh* Factor, who was burnt at *Sevil*, in the Reign of Queen *Mary* of *England*. Mr. *Burton*'s Goods and Notes having been all ſeized when he was apprehended, the Merchants of *London*, to whom thoſe Goods and Notes belonged, ſent one Mr. *Frampton* to recover them, and diſpoſe of them: But the Inquiſitors, after having baffled Mr. *Frampton* for ſome Months with frivolous pretences, did put a full ſtop to his Negotiation, by impriſoning him on ſuſpicion of Hereſy.

Dr. *Auguſtine Cazalla.*

In the Year 1558, Dr. *Auguſtine Cazalla*, Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, who had been for ſeveral Years Chaplain and Preacher to the Emperor *Charles* V. in *Germany*, was taken up and impriſoned by the Inquiſition of *Valedolid*, for being a Proteſtant; as was alſo his Mother *Donna Leonora de Vivera*, at whoſe Houſe the Proteſtants uſed to aſſemble to worſhip God; and his

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his three Brothers, and two Sisters, and their Servants; who had been all converted by him to the Catholick Faith. For such I do reckon the Protestant to be, for that it is the same with that Faith, that was profess'd by the whole Christian Church when the Creeds were made. This most pious and learned Martyr is acknowleged by *Paramus* an Inquisitor, to have *been a most Eloquent Preacher:* And one who after having undergone all the Cruelties of the mercileſs Court of Inquisition, in which his Mother died, was with thirteen more, professing the Protestant Religion, brought forth and burnt to Ashes in an *Act of the Faith.* The Inquisitors gave out after his Death, That he had reconciled himself to the Church of *Rome* in their Prisons; which they did on purpose to prejudice his Converts against his Memory and Doctrines. For had he been penitent, why did they burn him, having never relapsed? And would it not have been more for their Interest to have suffer'd him to live, and to have obliged him to have preached to his Converts to follow his Example, than to have burnt him out of the way?

Herezulo.

Herezulo, a most devout and eminent Lawyer, was burnt alive at the same time,

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and in the same place with Dr. *Cazalla*, by whom he had been converted. I have nothing more to relate of this Blessed Martyr, but what is said of the admirable Constancy and Courage wherewith he suffered the cruel Death of being burnt alive, by the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical*, who was present at his Martyrdom: *I was so near the Batchelor* Herezulo, *when he was burnt alive*, saith the Writer, *that I observed all his Gestures and Motions; for he could not speak, having his Mouth gagg'd for the Blasphemy he had uttered against the* Roman Church; *he appear'd to me to be a most resolute and hardned Person; and tho I marked him very narrowly, I did not discover the least Sign or Expression of any Uneasiness in him; only, that he had a Sadness in his Countenance, beyond any thing I had ever seen before.*

Dr. *Perez.*

Dr. *Perez*, a Secular Priest, of great Learning, and exemplary Piety, and a most fervent Preacher, was brought out of the Inquisition, and burnt in the same Act of the Faith: Of all which glorious Martyrdoms, *Charles* Prince of *Spain* was a Spectator; who was afterwards privately put to death by his Father (as was commonly said) for his having discovered a strong Affection to the Protestant Faith. *Don*

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Don Carlos de Seso.

At an Act of Faith celebrated not long after, by the same Court of Inquisition, *Don Carlos de Seso*, a Nobleman of an Illustrious Family, with forty Protestants more, was brought out and burnt alive, professing the Protestant Religion; of whom, and of one *John Sanche*, who had been a Servant to *Don Peter Cazalla*, who was burnt at the same time with his Brother: The Writer of the *Historia Pontifical* saith, *That they endured being burnt alive, with a Courage that astonished all that beheld it.*

Donna Leonora de Cisneros.

Donna Leonora de Cisneros, the Widow of the Blessed Martyr *Herezulo*, after several Years Imprisonment in the Inquisition of *Valedolid*, was brought out and burnt alive; which painful Death she underwent with a courage nothing inferiour to that of her Husband: Of which blessed Couple, and *Don Carlos de Seso*, the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical* saith, *That they endured being burnt alive, as if they had been made of Stone, and not of Flesh and Blood.*

Soon after the Inquisition of *Valedolid* had made this terrible havock of the

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Church of God within her Diſtricts, that of *Sevil* broke in with no leſs Cruelty and Fury upon the Church of God gathered in that City, by the Miniſtry of Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Conſtantino*, the Two great and ſhining Lights of *Spain*, and who before they were ſuſpected of being Proteſtants, were univerſally acknowledged to be ſo.

Dr. *John Egidio* was firſt Rector of the Univerſity of *Complutum*, and from thence was called to be Doctor of the Chair in Divinity at *Ciquenca*, where he had not been long before he was choſe Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral Church of *Sevil* by the Dean and Chapter of that City. In all which Poſts, but particularly in the laſt, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he was beloved and admired for his ſhining Piety, his profound Learning, and great Humility, by all that knew him, and by none more than by the Emperor *Charles* V. who us'd to call him his Preacher, and who, in the Year 1550, beſtowed *Tortoſa*, one of the Richeſt Biſhopricks in all *Spain* upon him. But before this Great and Holy Man was Conſecrated a Biſhop, he was taken up by the Inquiſition of *Sevil* for being a *Proteſtant*, and a *Teacher of that Faith*: When, or how he died in the Inquiſition we know not, but it is certain, that ſome Years after he was apprehended, his Bones were brought out

out and burnt in an Act of the Faith Celebrated in that City, as the Bones of one who had died an impenitent Protestant Heretick. In a Letter written, and dated from *Trent*, on *November* 19, 1551, by a Titular Bishop, to the Bishop of *Arras*, it is said, *We hear from* Spain, *that the nominated Bishop of* Tortosa, meaning *Dr.* Egidio, *is Condemned by the Inquisition to Perpetual Imprisonment*; I shall therefore, saith that *Hungry Titular*, *be infinitely obliged to your Lordship, if you will be pleased to remember me, in case the Bishop of* Elna *be Translated to* Tortosa, *which is by this means become vacant.*

Don *John Pontio de Leon.*

On *September* 24, 1559, *Don John Pontio de Leon*, Son to *Don Rodrigo*, Conde of *Baylen*, was, with divers others professing the Protestant Faith, burnt at *Sevil*; these Blessed Martyrs were all converted to the Catholick Faith by that Learned Saint, Dr. *Egidio*, and did, both in their Lives, and at their Deaths, discover themselves to be Sons not unworthy of such a Ghostly Father. The Doctrines they suffered Martyrdom for Professing, were,

1. *That the Worship of the* Church *of* Rome *was Idolatrous.*

2. *That the* Pope *was* Anti-Christ.

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3. *That Men were* Justified *by* Faith, *and not by* Works.

Dr. *Constantino Pontio.*

Dr. *Constantino Pontio*, Chaplain, and as some say, Confessor to the Emperor *Charles* the V. and Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral of *Sevil*, was, after that Prince's Resignation of his Crowns, and Retreat to *Spain*, taken up by the Inquisition of that City, as a Protestant Heretick; but he dying in the Prisons of the Inquisition, the Inquisitors best knew how; his Body with divers of his Books in Manuscript, were brought out and burnt in an Act of the Faith: Among his Books that were burnt, one bore the Title of *An Account of the true Christian*, which he maintained the Protestant to be; and *of the Antichristian Church*, which he proved was the *Roman*. There was likewise among his Books a Treatise against *Purgatory* and *Indulgences*. A second Treatise against *Transubstantiation*, and a Third against the *Merit of good Works*.

This Learned Doctor was ordered by the Emperor to attend his Son, Prince *Philip*, in Quality of his Preacher, into *Flanders*, on purpose to let the *Flemings* see that *Spain*, at that time, was not without its polite Scholars and Orators. And so in the Histo-

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History of the Prince's Voyage, Printed at *Madrid*, in *Spanish*, in the Year 1550. Doctor *Constantino*, his Preacher, is said to be, *The greatest Philosopher, the most profound Divine, and the most eloquent Preacher, that had been in* Spain *in many Ages.*

Which just Character of this great Saint was, after he was condemn'd as a Protestant by the Inquisition, by Order of the *Index Expurgatorius* blotted out of that History; and on this Passage the *Expurgator* of the Book, which is in my Hands, was so liberal of his Ink, that I had much ado to read it.

Here the Reader is to take notice, that among the other vile Arts practised by the Church of *Rome*, to support the Credit of her gross Errors, one is, that she will not allow any that have been her Adversaries, ever to have had any sort of Learning; as if it were not possible for any that had any Degree of Learning, to doubt of the Truth of any of her Doctrines. And so if in any of the Books permitted to be read by the *Index Expurgatorius*, *Erasmus*, *Calvin*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Casaubon*, or any other Protestant Writers, do happen to be honoured with the Title of Learned, that Title must be blotted out, as a thing that did not belong to them.

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It is reported, that the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, when he heard of his Chaplain Dr. *Conſtantino* being taken up by the Inquiſition, ſhould ſay; *If* Conſtantino *be an Heretick, he is not an ordinary one*; alluding to his extraordinary Piety and Devotion, as well as Learning.

John Gonſalvo, a Secular Prieſt.

Father *John Gonſalvo*, a pious and fervent Preacher, who was likewiſe converted to the *Catholick Faith* by Dr. *Egidio*, was burnt at the ſame time and place with his dear and intimate Friend *Don John de Leon*; to which bleſſed Couple, what was ſaid of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, may be properly apply'd; *They were pleaſant and lovely in their Lives, and in their Deaths they were not divided.*

This bleſſed Saint, as he was going to the Stake, began to ſing the 109*th Pſalm*, but being commanded to give over ſinging, he obey'd, well knowing, that if he had not, he ſhould not have been permitted to ſpeak a Word more. And having when he came to the Stake, obſerved, that one of his Siſters who was to be burnt with him, look'd much dejected, he cry'd out to her, *Be of good Courage, dear Siſter, and keep the Faith.* But as he was going on with his Exhortation, the Officers ordered him to be ſtrangled, pre-

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pretending, that he meant the Faith of the *Roman Church*. And thus Policy, when nothing else can, will make Inquisitors be merciful. For the Truth is, the Inquisitors finding the People much affected with the admirable Courage and Constancy of Mind wherewith the Protestant Martyrs did suffer the most painful of all Deaths, being burnt, or rather roasted alive, they began to fear the Consequence of entertaining them daily with such dangerous Spectacles: And for that reason, until those great Examples were pretty well forgot, they either strangled the Profest before they burnt them, pretending they had at the Stake desired to be reconciled to the *Roman Church*; or having died in the Inquisition, they burnt them in *Effigie*.

Juliano Fernando.

Juliano Fernando, who for his low Stature, and thin Body, was commonly called Little *Julian*, was taken up by the Inquisition of *Sevil*, for having imported and dispersed great Numbers of *Spanish* Bibles, which had been printed in *Germany*. And tho it is a hard Matter to know any thing that passeth within the Walls of the Inquisition, we are told by some that were in its Prisons at the same time with this Saint, that they once heard him, as he pass'd by the

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the Doors of their Prisons, cry out, *Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van*, that is, *The Fryars are baffled, they are baffled.* And at another time, *Corridos van los Lobos, corridos van*, that is, *The Wolves do flie, they do flie.* And in the Morning before he was to be burnt, meeting with a great Number of Protestants in the Hall where their flaming Habits were put on, he cry'd out to them, *Dear Brethren and Sisters, be of good Courage, and triumph over Death.* And having thereupon been gagg'd all Day, a certain Priest, whose Name was *Ferrando Rodriguez*, and who formerly had himself been well enclined to the Protestant Religion, when that Saint was brought to the Stake, desir'd he might be ungagg'd, boasting, that he should be able to perswade him to be reconciled to the *Romish* Church, which he was so far from being able to do, that that Saint, after he had with great Patience heard all that that Priest was able to say to him, answer'd him with a holy Zeal, *Thou Apostate, how dareſt thou, contrary to the Convictions of thy own Conscience, go about to perswade me to save my Life, by abjuring the Truth?* With which severe Reproof that Apostate was so enraged, that he cry'd aloud, *Shall* Spain, *the Conqueror of Nations, have its Peace disturb'd by such a Dwarf as this? Executioner, burn that incorrigible*

visible Heretick; which was done immediately; one of the Officers that stood by, having, either out of Compassion or Fury, given him a deadly Blow on the Head with a Pole, amidst the Flames.

Father *John de Leon*.

John de Leon, a Monk of St. *Isidore*, in the City of *Seadl*, having been converted by Doctor *Egidio* to the Catholick Faith, did, with several more Monks of the same Monastery, who were likewise Protestants, make his Escape to *Frankfort* in *Germany*; and not thinking himself safe there, he went to *Geneva*, and there remained, till Queen *Mary* of *England*'s Death: When being invited by the *English* Refugees to go along with them to *England*, he kindly accepted of that Brotherly Invitation; but having escaped the Traps which had been laid for him and the other *Spanish* Refugees, at *Cologn*, and other Places in *Germany*, he, and one *John Fernaidel*, another *Spanish* Confessor, were discover'd at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, which was then under the *Spanish* Dominion, as they were ready to have embark'd there for *England*.

And having been told by the Officer that seized him, *That he was the Man he look'd for*, he turn'd about to his Companion, and said,

ſaid, *Come Brother, let us go; God calls us to ſuffer for his Goſpel; if we do not forſake God, he will not forſake us.*

This Saint, after having been carried to Priſon, and racked there, to make him diſcover the Places where the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Refugees abſconded themſelves, was put aboard a Ship, which carry'd him to *Sevil*, having been kept in Chains, and gagg'd all the Voyage, but when he eat his Victuals, which was nothing but dry Bread and Water: He was likewiſe brought gagg'd out of the Inquiſition, and ſo continued until he was burnt, without diſcovering any thing that look'd like Fear or Uneaſineſs.

Dr. *Chriſtopher Loſada.*

Chriſtopher Loſada, an eminent Phyſician, was burnt at the ſame time for being a Proteſtant, who, as all the reſt did, ſuffered Death with a Joy and Unconcernedneſs that amazed all that beheld it.

I am apt to think, that the unhappy *Michael Servetus*, the moſt eminent Phyſician of his Age, was one of the *Spaniſh* Refugees of this Perſecution. But where-ever that unhappy Man learnt the Hereſies for which he was put to Death at *Geneva*, certain it is, that he did not bring them out of *Spain* with him; none that were put to Death

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Death in that Kingdom for being Protestants, having by their Adversaries ever been charged with any of his Heresies.

Christopher Aurelio.

Christopher Aurelio, an eminent School-Divine, who by reading the Scriptures had been converted to the *Catholick Faith*, was burnt in the same *Act of the Faith*, triumphing over Death as a conquer'd Enemy.

Garsias Arias.

Garsias Arias, a Monk of St. *Isidore*, who was commonly called Dr. *Blanco*, did, like St. *Paul*, of a violent Persecutor, turn a zealous Professor of the *Catholick Faith*, for the Testimony whereof he was burnt at *Sevil*, rejoicing that God had thought him worthy to suffer for so good a Cause. This Monastery of St. *Isidore* was the great *Seminary* of the *Protestant Religion* in *Spain*, five Monks having been taken out of it by the Inquisition, and burnt; and twelve having made their escape out of it, repaired to *Geneva*.

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne.

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne, who, though but a young Man when he was burnt, had been

been eight Years a Profeſſor of Humanity in St. *Iſidore's* College in *Seville*; he was a Perſon of great Zeal and Devotion, and was brought gagg'd out of the Inquiſition, and continu'd ſo till he was burnt, praiſing God with his Eyes and Hands, not being permitted to praiſe him with his Lips.

Donna Maria Bohorquia.

Donna Maria Bohorquia, a young Lady of ſuch admirable Knowledge and Piety, that Dr. *Egidio* did uſe to ſay, *That none could diſcourſe with her of Divine Matters (and ſhe did not care to talk of any other) without being made both wiſer and better by her.* When ſhe was but a Girl, ſhe learnt Latin to be able to read the Bible, which in *Spain* was not at that time to be met with in any other Language; and having by indefatigable Study, in a ſhort time acquired ſo much Skill in that Tongue, as to be able to hear the Divine Oracles ſpeaking in it to her Conſcience, ſhe ſo apply'd her ſelf to them, that ſhe had the whole Bible almoſt by heart; neither did ſhe, after ſhe had once taſted of that, ever care to read in any other Book. When ſhe was brought out of the Inquiſition to be burnt, with a heavenly Joy ſpread all over her Countenance, ſhe began to ſing Praiſes to God, with a moſt melo-

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dious Voice; and having, when forbid, refus'd to give over singing, she was gagg'd, and continu'd so till she was brought to the Stake. But the Fryars dreading the ill Effects her Example, both in her Life, and at her Death, might have on the Minds of the People, if they believed her to die a Protestant, cry'd out after she was fasten'd to the Stake, *She is converted, and desires before she dies, to be reconciled to the Church of* Rome. And so pretending to give her Absolution, she was immediately strangled, and burnt.

There were a great many more Women, and several of them of high Quality, burnt at this time, both at *Valedolid*, and at *Sevil*, for being Protestants; who being all learned in the Scriptures, the Inquisitors, who are all utter Strangers to those Divine Books, were not able to discourse with them about the Truths revealed in those Oracles of God. This provoked *Paramo*, a furious *Spanish* Inquisitor, to declaim vehemently against Women's being suffered to read the Bible, and against the Protestant Religion likewise, for permitting Women, contrary to St. *Paul*'s Prohibition, to speak in their publick Assemblies of Worship. As if Women that study'd the Scriptures could not forbear to take the Ministerial Office upon them; and as if the Protestant Reli-

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Religion, when they are ſo qualify'd, did allow them to do it; whereas, in truth, no People are ſo far from aſſuming any of the Miniſterial Functions, as thoſe who are moſt converſant in the Scriptures, which do expreſly condemn that Preſumption; neither did any of the *Spaniſh* Proteſtant Laity, Men or Women, ever take upon them to preach in the Aſſemblies of their Worſhip, nor did any of their Teachers ever allow the doing of it to be lawful. But thus the Inquiſitors, as I have obſerved, do make no Conſcience of calumniating thoſe they burn, and of loading the Religion for which they ſuffer, with unjuſt, and many times, inconſiſtent Reproaches.

The bleſſed Saints I have here named, tho they were the Leaders, were for Number but a ſmall part of that glorious Army of *Spaniſh* Proteſtant Martyrs, burnt at this time by the Inquiſition, who for the exemplary Piety of their Lives, and the admirable Patience and Courage wherewith they triumphed over Death, in the moſt terrible of all its Shapes, were nothing inferiour to the Martyrs of any other Nation in any Age.

FINIS.

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